THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

Vol. 7 Winter · 1938 No. 1

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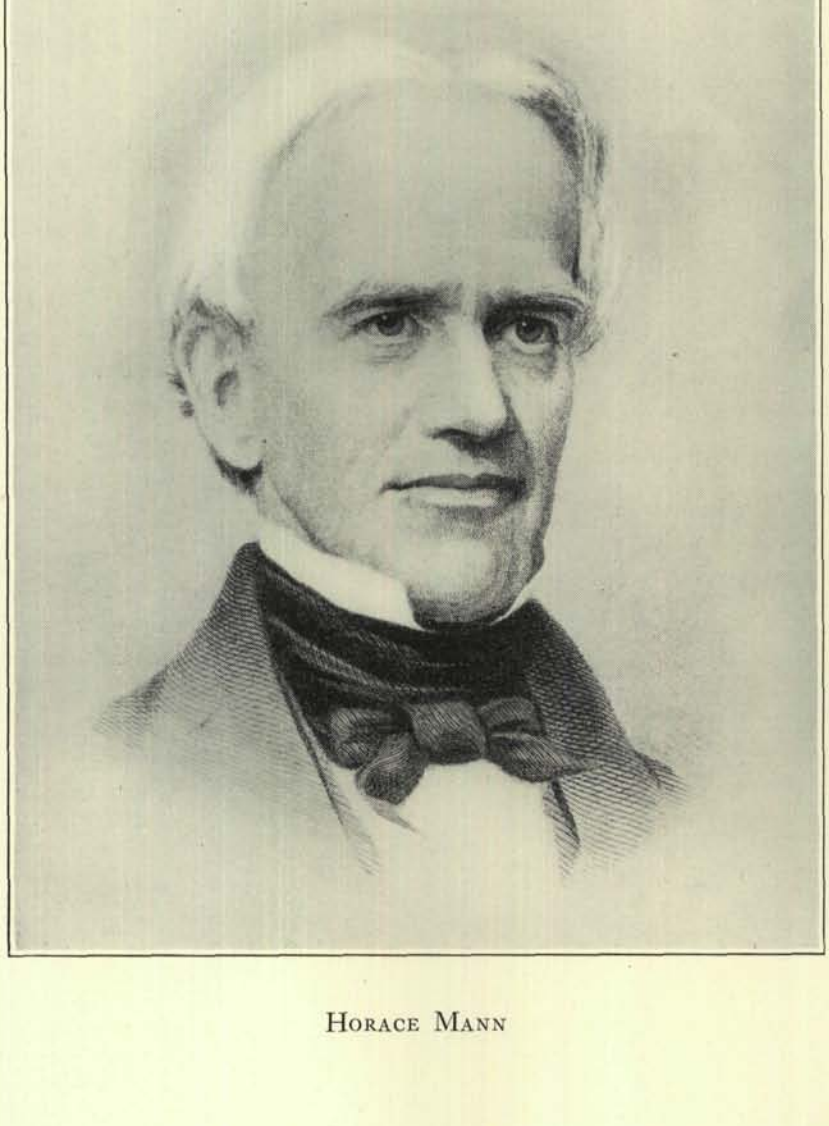

Horace Mann

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The New Orthodoxy

WALTER M. HORTON

TO THE average college-trained American, church-goer or not, "orthodoxy" means "fundamentalism." And since that memorable occasion when fundamentalism took its stand, Canute-like, with William Jennings Bryan at Dayton, Tennessee, defying the sea of science to advance another inch, our college man is very likely to be convinced that only a rustic ignoramus can be truly orthodox. (So, in the declining days of the Roman Empire, it was only the *pagani*, the ignorant country-men, who clung to their faith in the old Olympian gods.) Imagine his bewilderment then when he hears that many of the younger preachers and theologians—some of whom had their university course at Princeton or Harvard and their theological course in schools as pronouncedly liberal as Chicago Divinity School or Union Seminary—are now beginning to go "orthodox"! Imagine his distress when he is told that Professor Reinhold Niebuhr, whose shrewd analyses of current social issues have won his respect, is now bearing "theologically to the right" and (some say) heading full steam for orthodoxy!

The news is correct in the main though somewhat misleading unless rightly interpreted. Active young minds in the churches and seminaries *are* beginning to show a marked conservative trend. A generation ago young preachers and theological students were likely to be in revolt against traditional Christian theology wherever it came into collision with modern scientific or philosophical ideas. Today they are still in revolt—the perpetual prerogative of youth—but they are in revolt against liberalism. The statement is not, of course, true without qualification. In many churches and seminaries, especially in the South, the conflict between fundamentalism and liberalism still goes on and youth is on the liberal side. But precisely where the victory of liberal Christianity has been most complete, in the

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Northern urban centers, the reaction against it is most pronounced and the trend toward orthodoxy most unmistakable.

This new conservative movement is essentially different from fundamentalism. Fundamentalism was pre-modernistic; the new orthodoxy is post-modernistic. Fundamentalism was a defensive movement, designed to protect the historic "deposit of faith" against the destructive inroads of its modern environment; the new orthodoxy is an aggressive pioneering movement, already adjusted to its modern environment but pushing on through the increasingly arid desert of modern existence with the help of ancient maps and ancient travelers' songs—the rediscovered legacy of an "Eternal People" whose "Eternal Road" has often taken them through that self-same wilderness.

The new orthodoxy has only recently appeared in America but it has flourished for fifteen years in Continental Europe. American delegates to the church unity conferences which met at Oxford and Edinburgh this summer became aware of its pervasive influence when they encountered opposition of "the Continentals" on every major issue. At first with amusement or indignation, then with some respect, they were repeatedly obliged to listen to a point of view in which the German and Scandinavian Lutherans, the French and Dutch Calvinists and the Eastern Orthodox seemed all sustantially at one, but which was as remote from the "Anglo-Saxon" (British or American) position as Timbuktoo from Kalamazoo.

Sometimes this Continental point of view was described as "Barthian" by its American critics. This was undoubtedly a misnomer. Most of the Continentals would have refused—perhaps with some heat—to be called followers of Karl Barth; and he himself had he been present might have unchurched the great majority of them. Yet somehow the Continental delegation did look "Barthian" to the Americans and might properly be called Barthian in a relative sense as Canada is British to the Americans and American to the British. For Barth is the pioneer of the new orthodoxy and its most extreme representative. Few accept his teachings *in toto* but all Europe feels the pull of his

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influence. The easiest way to define any European theologian's position is to ask "Where does he stand in relation to Barth?"

Karl Barth is not (like Bishop Manning) a constitutional conservative. With quizzical eyes peering out from behind thick lenses and a leering, lopsided grin he looks more like a Bolshevik than like an ecclesiastic, and his appearance is not deceptive. Before the World War he was what used to be called an "advanced" thinker: A Christian Socialist, a sharp critic of the modern *bourgeois* church, and a theological liberal of the neo-Kantian variety, trained under Wilhelm Herrmann at Marburg. He is still a Socialist in politics and his suspicion of the decadence of the modern church has grown to prophetic certainty, but he does not identify the Socialist Utopia with the Kingdom of God and in theology he has pushed beyond liberalism, through radical skepticism, to a militant, revolutionary orthodoxy reminiscent of Luther and Calvin.

It was during the War, as minister of a little Reformed church in northwest Switzerland, that Barth passed through the radical crisis which made him orthodox. Trying to preach his liberal social gospel in wartime, while big guns over the horizon in Alsace punctuated his exhortations with ironical comments, he was thrown, he tells us, into a profound "embarrassment." Here were people pathetically expectant, longing to be assured of the reality of God in a world suddenly gone mad. Here was a Book the burden of whose every page was the reality of God. And here stood he, supposed to preach the Word of God to these people but unable to believe in his own sermons!

One thing he found he could no longer do with honest conviction—explain God by identifying him with any contemporary social movement or tendency or with anything temporal or human. Hegel might do that, Utopian Socialists might do that, but Kierkegaard and current events had conspired to remove the scales from Barth's eyes. Taught by the great Danish critic, whose works had such a vogue in the German-speaking world during the War, he learned to doubt whether the antitheses of human society were really leading on toward a glorious

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divine synthesis which would comprehend all tragic differences in some equable and rational "Both . . . and." Human life, as he observed it and as he found it magnificently analyzed in Dostoievsky's novels, seemed to be an insoluble paradox, a question without an answer. Both the Christian Church and the Socialist party seemed to be rushing to perdition rather than marching toward the Millennium. A God one could trust and reverence must be wholly above and beyond all this. There must be, as Kierkegaard said, an "infinite qualitative difference" between the temporal and the eternal.

Such pessimism as this was no doubt irreligious according to liberal Christian notions, but as Barth despairingly searched the Scriptures it struck him that a certain pessimism about human affairs was characteristic of their teachings, and when he turned to the Biblical commentaries of Luther and Calvin he was pleased to discover that these men of faith viewed the secular scene pretty much as he did. Perhaps after all it was not wrong to be "embarrassed" when one attempted to make God intelligible in terms of contemporary social movements; perhaps a God who could be discovered on the human plane would not be God; perhaps "embarrassment," inability to talk without involvement in verbal contradictions and rational paradoxes, was something one was *bound* to experience in the presence of the true and living God who is "wholly other" (*totaliter aliter*) than all our ideas of him. Perhaps theology itself is but "the description of this embarrassment." This was Barth's first great theological insight and it has remained fundamental for him.[1]

The book which brought Barth to the attention of the world was his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, which has passed through many editions and radical revisions since it first appeared in 1918. It is a strange book, full of the most astonishing paradoxes—deliberately so, since Barth is convinced that wherever God impinges upon human life he reveals himself in some apparent contradiction; death that is life, despair that is hope, an insoluble enigma which is its own triumphant answer.

[1] See Barth *The Word of God and the Word of Man*, trans. Douglas Horton, pp. 100, 101.

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It is not a conventionally pious book, for in the name of God Barth heaps his scorn upon religion and the church—above all upon that liberal Christianity which fails to see that "one can *not* speak of God simply by speaking of man in a loud voice."[2] But for all this, it is a religiously stirring book, for Barth has now found in the Bible what he regards as the absolute Word of God, lifted high above all the perishable counsels of men. This does not mean that he has turned his back upon the critical, scientific study of the Bible or failed to recognize the human and fallible elements in the teachings of the prophets and apostles. He has no animus against the "higher criticism"; but for him the real task of Biblical interpretation begins where the critic's task ends, where the interpreter stops to listen for the Word which the God who produced the Bible has to speak to our own time. Barth's *Romans*, coming after a generation of cool, objective Biblical scholarship, gave the theological world a sudden shock, for it dared to translate Paul's epistle to the Romans into a special-delivery letter from God to the 20th century.

This crisis in the life of Karl Barth is typical of the crisis through which multitudes of Europeans—some independently, some stimulated by his leadership—have been passing in the post-war era. They have turned back from liberal Christianity toward more classical sources of inspiration because they have become convinced that modern civilization, with all its indubitable achievements, is now in a blind alley from which we must back out before we can hope to go ahead again. They have abandoned the liberal Christian emphasis upon the indwelling ("immanence") of God in the world and in man because God no longer appears to them as the Patron of modern humanistic culture but as its Adversary and Judge. In this general attitude Barth is at one not only with "Barthians" who accept his theology but also with many of his Protestant critics and even with Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox thinkers. Whether we listen to Maritain the Catholic on *Freedom in the Modern World* or Berdyaev the Russian Orthodox on *The Fate of Man in the*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

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Modern World or Barth's Protestant antagonist Schweitzer on *The Decay and Restoration of Civilization* we always get the same diagnosis: modern man, having attempted to make himself the center of the universe, has fallen victim to his own mechanical ingenuity and unless he can find a new center for his existence above and beyond himself, in God, his mechanized civilization is doomed to suffer the fate described in *The Decline of the West.* Unanimity vanishes, of course, when these thinkers pass from criticism to construction. All agree that a strategic retreat to some impregnable fortress of Christian faith is necessary but each builds his fortress at a different spot in accordance with the pattern of the Christian tradition to which he adheres. Maritain calls us back to St. Thomas, Berdyaev to the mystics and philosophers of the Eastern Church, Barth to the Protestant Reformers and their *sola Scriptura, soli Deo gloria,* and Albert Schweitzer, less radically anti-modern, calls us back to the Christian humanitarianism of the Age of the Enlightenment.

Barth is less influential and representative on this constructive side of the new orthodoxy than on its critical side. His contempt for all that is merely human or temporal, his distrust of human reason as an avenue of approach to God, are so thoroughgoing that he is left without any intellectual cement wherewith to hold the jagged fragments of his faith together or to build a bridge between faith and knowledge. He has lately parted company with his most able disciple, Emil Brunner, because Brunner made room in his theology for a real though incomplete knowledge of God derived from direct observation of nature and human society; and others have left him for similar reasons.

Unless all signs fail, the future development of the new orthodoxy is going to follow Brunner's lead rather than Barth's. One cannot imagine the Catholic or Eastern Orthodox Churches giving up their rational *praeambula fidei* whereby the acceptance of superhuman revelation becomes itself a reasonable act. Still less can one expect theologians trained in the Liberal Protestant tradition to turn their backs collectively upon philosophic reason as a guide to the knowledge of God. What one

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may expect and what seems to be occurring is a shift of base in philosophy—from idealistic optimism and "world-affirmation" to realistic pessimism and "world-denial." As the monks in medieval Europe withdrew to their monasteries, where they treasured and studied the records of Christian antiquity and prayed to a God who was above the battle that raged around their walls, so the modern church, in Europe, is beginning to interiorize her life, to live less on surrounding culture than on her own precious heritage, and to pin her faith to a transcendent God who will survive the coming doom of Western civilization.

What will America do about the new orthodoxy? So far she has done very little. Our relative peace and isolation make it hard to believe, on this side of the water, that European thinkers are really in earnest when they talk about the impending doom of civilization and the inability of man to avert it by his own efforts. Only quite recently, during the economic depression, did the American mind begin to lose something of its ingrained optimism and consider whether there might not be something really and basically wrong with the world. It was during this period that Reinhold Niebuhr rose to a position of commanding influence in the theological world. In him we probably have the best measuring-rod that could be devised to test the extent of our response to the new orthodoxy and the distance which divides it from yesterday's fundamentalism and modernism.

Like his friend Paul Tillich—who has now become his colleague at Union Seminary—Niebuhr has always lived "on the boundary" between rival currents of thought.[3] A German-American, well-grounded in the conservative traditions of the Lutheran and Reformed churches but equally versed in the political philosophy of John Dewey and the intricacies of the American labor movement, he has for years been reading Continental theology and applying it to the American scene. This

[3] See Tillich, *The Interpretation of History*, Part I, "On the Boundary: an autobiographical sketch." Tillich, like Barth, has been driven from his professorship in Germany by the opposition of the Nazis. A severe critic of Barth, he nevertheless resembles him in his pessimism about contemporary society and his transcendental conception of God—"the Unconditioned."

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practice has long since led him to view his native America with a detached and somewhat ironical gaze. It has also led him to criticize the Continental point of view from the American angle. The result—to employ his favorite term—has been the development of a powerful "tension" in his mind, where Europe and America are perpetually tugging in opposite directions. So long as America continues to tug he will never go completely orthodox in the Barthian sense. So long as Europe continues to tug he will never cease to pull American theology toward a deeper appreciation of the truth in orthodoxy. In all his recent books, orthodoxy and liberalism are made to carry on a continuous process of mutual criticism which should be for the ultimate benefit of both. The verdict in this internal debate would run like this:

Liberal Christianity, especially in its American form, has been unrealistic and romantic in its estimate of the difficulties which beset mankind. It has believed it possible to realize the Kingdom of God on earth by collective moral effort, forgetting that society is largely made up of sinners and has a way of corrupting even the virtues of saints through collective self-deception. Orthodox Christianity, notably in its European form, has been so pessimistic about human nature, so transcendental in its view of God, that it has tended to make all moral distinctions vanish in a universal condemnation of sin-in-general, thus cutting the nerve of effort and rendering history meaningless. Actually we face a world where the Christian Gospel is "relevant" at every moment but never finally reaches its goal. "No absolute limit can be placed upon the degree to which human society may yet approximate the ideal. But it is certain that every achievement will remain in the realm of approximation."[4]

This verdict of Niebuhr's is comparable at many points with the verdict which British theology—closer to the Continent than we are—has already reached in its discussion of the new orthodoxy. Led by Dean Inge and others, contemporary British theology has abandoned the Utopian expectation of reaching the Kingdom of Heaven on earth by cooperative human effort; it

[4] *An Interpretation of Christian Ethics*, p. 111.

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conceives of history as a perpetual struggle between a transcendent divine Will and a creative process dependent on that Will but capable of resisting it to the point of self-destruction. With British common sense, however, it insists upon the possibility of tracing the hand of God even in the history of his rebellious creatures and continues to hope for divine victories in this earthly sphere, victories of such a quality that man may learn from them to know the taste of eternity in the midst of time.[5]

If such an attitude is remote from the modernism which floats blissfully down the stream of contemporary civilization, confident of the divinity, yea, the Christlikeness of its prevailing currents and the happiness of the condition toward which it is tending, it is equally remote from the fundamentalism which identifies the Word of God with an ancient Book. For Niebuhr (as indeed for Barth himself, with all his anti-modernism) the Word of God is something contemporaneous, or rather something eternal, which impinges upon our age through a human and fallible historic medium. Literal faith in the *ipsissima verba* of Scripture is a form of idolatry which God will punish as He will punish the idolatrous State-worship of our nationalistic contemporaries. But let the words of Scripture be taken as what Niebuhr calls "myths" and Barth calls "tokens"—symbolic expressions of truths too transcendent for human science to grasp, on which nevertheless our human fate depends—and they will lead us back to a fresh appreciation of Christian orthodoxy.

In its great ages orthodoxy has not stifled intelligence or shackled the present to an archaic past. It has been a living tradition, perpetually reborn through reapplication to the needs and problems of each new generation, perpetually confirmed by the disasters which ensue when humanity departs from it. In G. K. Chesterton's famous figure, orthodoxy careens down the pathway of the centuries like a charioteer, reeling but erect, spilling out heretics and extremists to the right and left but managing by the grace of God to maintain its balance.

[5] For an interpretation of the general trend of British theology see *Contemporary English Theology* by the author of this article.

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Healthy, Wealthy—if Wise—Industry

ALICE HAMILTON

THE history of industrial hygiene in the United States, of a deliberate effort to prevent occupational disease, is short, very short if it is compared with that of Britain, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Switzerland. Up to 30 years ago no study had ever been made in this country of the dangerous trades, no investigation into the occurrence of lead or arsenic or phosphorus or mercury poisoning in men who were necessarily exposed to some one of these poisons in the course of their daily work. The small group of medical men attached to industrial plants were surgeons whose first duty was to treat cases of accidental injury and protect the Company from damage suits. Sickness arising from an occupation was not the concern of the employer unless he happened to be one of those exceptional characters who look on themselves as their brothers' keepers. Even as late as 1911 it was possible for the manager of a great white lead works to exclaim with genuine indignation, "Do you mean to imply that if one of my men gets lead poisoning I am to be held responsible?"

Medical men were quite as ignorant and indifferent as employers. No articles on industrial poisoning appeared in medical journals or were presented at medical congresses. Physicians shared the optimistic attitude of the employing class; they believed that American workers were so much better paid than Europeans, better fed and housed, American mines, smelters and factories were so far superior to all others that the dangers menacing the foreign worker were negligible here.

The first blow to this happy security came when in 1909 John M. Andrews, now of the American Association for Labor Legislation, published the results of an investigation he had made for the Federal Bureau of Labor of phossy jaw in men and women making lucifer matches. Phossy jaw is caused by

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the penetration of phosphorus fumes through a decayed tooth, causing inflammation and necrosis of the jawbones. It is intensely painful and offensive and it results in permanent disfigurement, so that the victims are objects of horror and pity to everyone. There had been much agitation over this form of industrial poisoning in other countries but none here—indeed we believed that we were entirely free from it.

The history of our dealings with phosphorus poisoning in the match industry illustrates vividly the attitude of Americans toward industrial disease in this early period. The first case of phossy jaw ever recognized was reported from Vienna in 1845 and from then on it excited much discussion all over Continental Europe and England and every effort was made to control the danger. Finally, when prevention was proved impossible, the producing countries of Europe entered into an agreement which abolished the use of this kind of phosphorus and substituted the safe sesquisulphide. In the United States the first case came to light 6 years later, in 1851, but from then on practically nothing authentic on the subject was published in this country till Andrews' report came out in 1909.[1] When, however, the public learned that over 150 cases had occurred in American match manufacture it was fairly easy to induce Congress to pass the Esch law laying a tax on matches made with white phosphorus. This was soon followed by the adoption of the safe compound.

This is the simplest problem of industrial poisoning so far encountered and we can hardly hope to repeat the history of the freeing of the match industry from the danger of phossy jaw. Here was a poison used in one large industry only, of known action, producing injuries visible to everyone and rendered unnecessary by the discovery of a safe substitute. It is natural it should have been the first problem attacked because it was the simplest.

[1] Andrews discovered a pamphlet by a New York doctor, published in 1851, which described 9 severe cases of phossy jaw in that city and also an article in the *New York Evening Post* of 1864 which told of 12 cases.

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American industry before the War presented problems more complicated than this but they were relatively few in number. Industry at that time was characterized by a small number of dangerous processes involving the use of some few poisons which were well-known to physicians and industrialists in other countries but because of ignorance and indifference were inadequately dealt with over here. Many thousands of workers were exposed to dangers which could have been prevented by intelligent engineering practice. An occupational disease survey of Illinois, made in 1909-1910 and limited to the poisonous trades, revealed a very high rate of poisoning but a very short list of trade poisons—lead, arsenic, mercury, brass (zinc oxide fumes) carbon monoxide, turpentine.

The report of the survey, published in 1911, is really a record of a pioneer exploration, with few guides to show the way. For instance the enameling of bathtubs and sinks was then done with a mixture rich in lead but nobody outside the factories, not even factory inspectors or doctors, knew that it was a lead-using industry, and the fact was brought to light only when a search through hospital records disclosed a large number of cases of plumbism among grinders and enamelers. When an investigator secured a sample of the enamel from a workman who used to take it home for his wife to use in scouring pots and pans analysis showed the presence of soluble lead. Nothing in English or German literature had given any hint of this danger in enameling, for lead-free enamel is used over there, as it is now almost entirely in this country. The number of actual cases discovered in the Illinois survey necessarily fell far short of the truth, yet when the figures were compared with those of the same trades in England and Germany, figures recorded on the basis of regular examinations of all lead workers, the result was appalling. In one industry, the making of white lead and the oxides, a factory in England employing 150 had had two cases; one American employing only 142 men had had 25 known cases, and another with only 70 to 80 employed had had no less than 11 cases in two months, or (the labor

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turnover was very great) a rate of 66 a year. The form of lead poisoning was often very severe. Lead convulsions and lead insanity were rarities in England and Germany but there was a center of lead work in southwestern Illinois where everyone knew what "lead fits" were and it was easy to find cases.

This first period therefore is one of comparatively few, simple, well-understood problems; of general ignorance and indifference; of excessive incidence of occupational poisoning in a few industries, accepted as inevitable by employers and employed and by the few physicians who took any cognizance of it at all. The chief method of protection was to encourage a large labor turnover (so that no one worker would be exposed too long) which was not then regarded as poor industrial practice. Governmental control by state labor departments was practically non-existent and though the Federal Bureau of Labor had begun to make investigations of poisonous trades, the Public Health Service had never entered that field at all.

The War changed all this. With the shutting off of German imports there came a crying need for dyes and drugs for our own use and for acids and coal tar intermediates essential in the production of high explosives, since we began very early in the War to produce trinitrotoluene, smokeless powder and picric acid for the Allies. We had depended on Germany for these chemicals—we had, for instance, produced very little benzol (the starting base for most of them), using the petroleum solvents, naphtha and benzine, instead. What benzol we needed we had bought from Germany and had allowed that valuable solvent, together with the closely allied toluol and xylol, to pass off into the air from the coke ovens which used to line the railways through the coal regions of Pennsylvania. But since benzol and toluol are essential starters for the manufacture of dyes and drugs and for many of the high explosives, coke by-products plants began to spring up. Aniline, needed for dyes and at that time the most important accelerator of rubber vulcanization, is a reduction derivative of nitrobenzol. We had bought it also from Germany but after August 1914 plants were hastily con-

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structed for nitration and reduction. Since nitric acid is essential to the manufacture of aniline and for all high explosives the demand for it increased enormously. Although we had never made more than a small quantity before the War, by the early Spring of 1916 a single plant of the du Pont Company was employing some 12,000 men in nitrating cotton for the Allies.

All this new development meant new problems for engineers and, since their first task is to produce, regardless of danger to themselves or their fellow-workers, there were serious accidents in those early days, resulting in the escape of poisonous vapors or fluids, and frequent repair jobs which usually mean excessive exposure for the repair gangs. Moreover many of the compounds, whose production had increased so much, are themselves poisonous and their use—in rubber compounding, in loading shells and mines, in making dyes—meant new dangers to the workers. In those days one could go into a plant producing intermediates and find all the aniline reduction units out of commission, the floor awash with aniline and water and the men more or less soaked with the mixture—and aniline oil is one of the poisons that enter very easily through the skin. It was possible to visit a cotton nitration plant and in the course of one day witness no less than eight out-pourings of poisonous nitrous fumes, the men fleeing before them into the open but not always quickly enough. Nitrous fumes cause acute congestion of the lungs followed by edema or by pneumonia.

At that time engineering practice had not nearly caught up with the problems it had to deal with if workers were to be protected against such dangers nor was there much inducement to put forth efforts in that direction. Employers were absorbed in large-scale production with its attendant huge profits, workmen were getting high wages, organized labor was quite indifferent to the lot of the unskilled men who made up the working force in these industries and factory inspectors were bewildered and powerless. Our record in this field is not a matter for national pride. Faced with an emergency far less overwhelming than that confronting France and Britain we refused to adopt

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the protective measures which they had worked out, giving a free hand instead to the reckless and indifferent manufacturer. In spite of all the efforts of an advisory committee of physicians no code of safe practices was ever adopted. Only in the Spring of 1919 did Samuel Gompers triumphantly produce a code, less stringent than the English, lacking any compulsory feature and adopted months after the Armistice.

Nevertheless the War not only increased the dangers in American industry; it aroused the interest of physicians in industrial poisons. And that interest has never died down. On the contrary it has increased with the increasing complexity of methods of manufacture. A change took place also in the attitude of employers, for a large labor turnover was found to be not only wasteful but an unsatisfactory method of dealing with dangerous processes in industry. The Public Health Service had entered this field during the War and the medical journals had published articles discussing the action of the new poisons and various methods of preventing danger from the old ones. In the period following the War we find very rapid progress in the control of the poisonous trades. To a great extent this improvement is traceable to the passage, by some of the more important industrial states, of legislation awarding compensation for industrial disease and to the consequent pressure from insurance companies; but in part it has come from a new enlightenment on the part of employers and their recognition of responsibility for occupational sickness among their employes. We find it sometimes even in those states which have passed no protective legislation.

But though the poisons with which we are familiar have been brought largely under control, industry is facing much more complicated problems in connection with the new chemicals that are crowding in and whose action on man is sometimes quite unknown. Let me give a few instances out of the many that might be cited. In spinning and weaving cotton, silk, wool and linen the unhealthful features are humidity (often with heat), dust (but of a relatively harmless character) and fatigue.

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The high rate of tuberculosis among textile workers, as among tobacco workers, is attributable to their low wages. These textiles, however, have been largely displaced by artificial silk, rayon, acetate, Bemberg. The last does not require the use of poisonous chemicals, acetate silk uses comparatively safe ones, but rayon, by far the most important, calls for carbon disulphide, which is poisonous to the central nervous system, causing neuritis, paralyses, insanity and loss of vision. Few physicians in this country have ever heard of this poison or have any idea of its action, although foreign medical literature is full of reports of cases occurring in rayon plants. Sulphuretted hydrogen, an old poison, well known as rapidly fatal if present in large quantities, adds another hazard to the production of rayon. Most physicians do not know, however, that small quantities in the air will cause severe inflammation of the eyes.

The solvent used for gums and rubber, for degreasing machinery, for dry cleaning etc. was formerly petroleum naphtha or benzine or gasoline, all weak narcotics. Added to these we now find members of the chloroform group, resembling chloroform but differing from it and from each other in ways that still are only partially understood. The painters' trade used to involve exposure to lead and turpentine, the paint being applied by brush. Now the brush has been displaced by the spray gun and the painter works in a mist of volatile solvents of nitrocellulose that are sometimes almost harmless but that usually include at least one toxic compound. The trouble is that these solvent mixtures change each year, with chemicals coming into use before they have been thoroughly tested.

These are only a few examples of the ways in which occupations have changed their character in recent years. And though the problems of industrial hygiene have become much more numerous and more difficult, the efforts to deal with them have multiplied many times. The Public Health Service and the Division of Labor Standards in the Department of Labor are deeply interested in industrial disease (the Service devotes one whole department to research—both laboratory tests on animals

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of the action of suspected compounds, and field studies of thousands of workers exposed to dangerous dusts); several of the large medical schools are carrying on the same sort of work; an organization of industrial physicians and surgeons, a branch of the American Medical Association, and at least three journals are devoted to industrial medicine; the companies which offer industrial insurance, notably the Metropolitan Life, cooperate in studying the effects of dusts and poisons on workers; the attitude of many employers has changed from one of secrecy and hostility to a frank facing of facts and a genuine desire to deal with them; and finally (though this should probably hold first place) all the important industrial states now provide compensation for occupational disease, Michigan and Pennsylvania having at long last joined their more progressive fellows. Among the many post-war incidents that might be used to show this changed attitude toward the dangers in industry two are especially striking.

In 1923-24 newspapers carried stories of a number of cases of severe poisoning from exposure to a new poison, tetra-ethyl lead, which was being produced by one large company and used by several for blending with gasoline. This is a very dangerous form of lead, is more quickly absorbed than any of those ordinarily used in industry, and concentrates in the central nervous system, causing insomnia, excitement, twitching muscles, hallucinations like those of delirium tremens, even maniacal attacks and convulsions, and death. The *New York World* took up the crusade against this dangerous poison, there was widespread panic lest the use of the blended gasoline involve risk to the public, several states hastily prohibited the sale of "ethyl gasoline" and foreign countries threatened to forbid its import. The emergency was met by Surgeon-General Cumming who called a conference in May 1925 at which industrialists, chemists, labor representatives and physicians agreed to entrust the problem to a small group of experts who should decide on the nature of the danger and on whether prohibition or control was needed. Meantime the manufacturers promised not to sell ethyl

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gasoline until the report of the experts had been made. The committee found that the hazard to producers and blenders could be wholly prevented by mechanical devices and that the danger to garage workers was slight and to users none at all unless gasoline was used for cleaning textiles. To obviate this small element of risk warnings were to be put on all supply pipes and the blended gasoline colored.

Another instance, very similar to this, occurred in connection with the making of luminous figures on watches and clocks. Here too a new, almost unknown poison was involved, radium (using this in the sense of radioactive bodies), the effects of the poison were peculiarly terrible, the public was aroused by newspaper stories of women dying after months of suffering (again it was the *New York World* that led the crusade) and a demand was made for some governmental action. This was provided by the same method (a conference called by the Surgeon-General), an expert committee was appointed and the manufacturers voluntarily pledged themselves to abide by its decision. In connection with both ethyl gasoline and luminous paint close watch is still kept to detect possible cases but the precautions worked out in these occupations seem thus far to be so adequate that we do not fear any serious injury to the people employed in them.

These are good examples of the new system we are developing in this country, where legal control of the dangers in industry is divided among 48 states and compulsory regulation would be practically impossible to put through. The Public Health Service and the Department of Labor have no real authority yet their influence, together with the publicity they can command, is very powerful. In both these cases pressure was brought to bear on the manufacturers by an aroused public. Just recently, however, when we were confronted by a similar problem, the initiative was taken by the industrialists themselves. Here there was nothing spectacular at all—only a few scattered cases of acute liver disease, fatal in some cases, in men exposed to one of the chlorinated naphthalenes that have been used here

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and in Germany by hundreds of men without any apparent harm. The cases were detected by state labor officials—in itself a great advance, for such officials used to be abysmally ignorant—and were taken seriously by the manufacturers who called to their aid the Public Health Service, the state labor departments and experts in the field of toxicology. Only a few years ago their attitude would have been one of contemptuous refusal even to acknowledge the facts. They would certainly not have accepted any responsibility for them.

Finally this same method is being applied to that new-old industrial disease, silicosis, the dust disease which threatens men employed in work exposing them to dust containing free silica. Since Roman days it has been known that dusty work caused a wasting disease of the lungs. Pliny the Elder speaks of the "diseases of slaves," lead and mercury poisoning, and the "consumption of potters and grinders." "Grinders' rot" and "potters' rot" are ancient phrases in England. That certain dusts are more harmful than others has been known for centuries, but the study of the characteristics of industrial dusts, which began in the middle of the last century, was sidetracked for decades by the bacteriologists, who laid all the stress on infection and ignored the part played by dust. It was not until the English began to study the dust disease of miners in the Rand that the importance of the chemical nature of dust began to be recognized. Since then an enormous amount of work has been done, especially in South Africa, England and this country, and silicosis, caused by dust containing tiny particles of free silica, is now a recognized form of occupational disease.

Silicosis is at present the overwhelmingly absorbing problem of industrial hygiene, for it affects many thousands of workers, stone cutters and quarrymen, miners of metals and of anthracite, sand blasters, potters, foundrymen and makers of abrasive soaps and powders, to mention only a few of the occupations which produce silica-containing dust. This disease has created a very difficult situation for both employers and employed because it is new to both groups. The silica dust is a slow, insidious

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poison (though not usually classed as a poison it has a toxic action), and while the employer finds himself suddenly confronted with responsibility for a sickness he never before heard of, the employee finds himself faced with the prospect of losing his job because of a sickness he has known about all his life but which he is willing to risk rather than lose his status as a skilled workman and sink to the level of the common laborer or of the unemployed. Obviously the way to attack silicosis is to prevent the formation and escape of dust, and it is in this direction that efforts are now being made.

History demonstrates that every advance in manufacturing processes has been accompanied by new dangers to health against which protective measures must be devised if the workers are not to suffer from such advance. And these dangers are harder and harder to deal with, more complicated and less well understood than were those of 30 years ago. We may expect that this will continue to be true and that there will never come a time when the industrial physician can regard his problems as all solved.

Even if we reach a point at which all poisons and harmful dusts have been brought under control we shall still have to deal with that much more baffling and widespread industrial evil, fatigue of "mind, body and soul." Fatigue is a problem that increases in importance with the increase in mechanized industry. A typical modern factory impresses the visitor with its spacious workrooms, its good lighting and ventilation, its cleanliness, its rest rooms, its generous provision of washrooms and showers, sometimes as good as those in a country club. Some factories provide a dance hall, a baseball field or a bowling alley for their employees. And yet, if you linger long enough to get a real impression of what is going on you begin to wonder whether it would not have been better to devote all that money to one thing—to slowing up the speed of production. Once you begin to look for this the rest becomes of minor importance. Watch the workers in any mechanized operation. They cannot time their motions; the machine determines that. They cannot

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change, vary the routine, let up for a little, then speed up again, for they must fit accurately into the machine. There is little chance to develop skill, which might keep up the worker's interest, for the efficiency experts and the engineers have determined the most efficient way to carry on each individual process and the workman must follow the rule without deviation. He cannot take much interest in his work, it is necessarily monotonous, and when to this is added the strain of keeping up a fixed pace for hours, with no control of the speed on the part of the worker, the result is a weariness that is out of proportion to the muscular strain, because the weariness is emotional as well as physical. It is quite different from the fatigue of the craftsman or the farmer or the housewife. Their work has at once sameness and variety, enough sameness to allow of increasing skill, enough variety to maintain interest. No two pieces of wood or metal can be worked up in exactly the same way, no two fields can be plowed in the same way, no two batches of bread are identical, no two babies are alike in troublesomeness. In all such work a heavy effort can be followed by relaxation for a bit and as the day goes on the pace lets up. The weariness at the end of the day is an all-over muscular tiredness, leading to healthful sleep and not to the irritable fatigue of the worker who has all day long made the same motions at a speed over which he has no control.

This is the field of increasing importance to which the industrial hygienist is now turning. And in the work of Elton Mayo and Lawrence Henderson at Harvard we see a most interesting beginning of exploration into the part played by psychology in the fatigue of the man or woman employed in modern, mechanized industry.

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Horace Mann—Mustard Seed

PAUL BIXLER

HAWTHORNE hated that special flower of New England, the reformer, but when he put his hate into fiction the result, strangely enough, was generalized. One cannot say with any conviction that for Hollingsworth in *The Blithedale Romance* he used a human model; this would be contrary to good critical opinion. Yet Hawthorne was acquainted with several reformers and Horace Mann, first secretary of the Massachusetts board of education and "father of the common schools," was his brother-in-law. Hollingsworth was a bore, Hawthorne tells us; moreover, at one time he seemed to be "fast going mad." His "philanthropic dream" was concerned with the cure of criminals. There was "something of the woman moulded into his great, stalwart frame" and he had a special, strange sympathy "towards those whom disease, or weakness, or calamity of any kind causes to falter and faint amid the rude jostle of our selfish existence." These things we are told yet Hollingsworth never comes to life. He is always a symbol, always a wraith of his author's mood. Nevertheless, it seems a pity that, because the reformer is not three-dimensioned, he should lack a human model. Especially so since Mann so readily presents himself.

Mann and Hawthorne married two of the Peabody sisters; Horace, Mary, and Nathaniel, Sophia. In his journal Hawthorne never refers to his brother-in-law except casually in connection with other members of the two families. Only once did he soften or humanize his attitude; when he was removed from the Salem customs house he wrote Mann, in Congress at the time, for political assistance. Hawthorne's son, Julian, has recorded the day when Mann first discovered that Nathaniel smoked cigars:

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Uncle Horace stopped short in his tracks, as one brought unawares to the brink and reek of the Pit.

He snapped, "Mr. Hawthorne, I am sorry to say that I can no longer entertain the same respect for you that I once had!"

My father smiled sympathetically, but did not throw away the butt, and my uncle withdrew.

Julian is prejudiced. He is certain that his uncle never once made any effort to understand him, that his uncle's personality was distasteful to children. The Hawthornes, father and son, looked on Mann simply as a reformer who had married into the family. In any search for the truth this doesn't get us very far. For if we measure the individual by his reforms we get a confused portrait and only a part of the truth. Mann disapproved of liquor, profanity and tobacco in ascending order of emphasis. He strongly discouraged the use of coffee and tea. He favored dancing for the sake of health but thought Fanny Ellsler, the Viennese ballerina who cleaned up $85,000 in America in a few months, a shameless hussy. He considered the reading of fiction pernicious. He believed in humane treatment of the insane, in education for every child, in the relieving of pain in childbirth. There is a hint that he favored birth control. Women's rights affronted him but in general he thought women hadn't been getting their deserts or finding their proper place in the world's scheme. In frantic search for a scientific system of morals he fell headlong for phrenology.

Perhaps because he has been remembered as a reformer and an educator competent biographers have never paid him any attention. One may reasonably suggest that there was something more to him than the content of his reforms, certainly something more than the sanctified nonentity that has been created for the worship of school children.

As an adult Mann occasionally spoke with deep feeling of the rigors of his childhood. In the first decade of the 19th century nothing in the little town of Franklin, Massachusetts, near which the Mann farm was located, was calculated to foster his intense love of beauty, his shy imagination or his naturally

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buoyant spirit. On the contrary all the "better" influences—school, church, and library—seemed expressly designed to frustrate and repress the good will with which he seemed to have been endowed. In middle age he remembered his life on the farm as hard and poverty-stricken. This he may have exaggerated, for he dearly loved to dramatize himself. But if there is doubt of his poverty there is none that as a boy he was supremely unhappy.

In the histories and volumes of theology found in the neighborhood library there was much to trouble his mind, little to feed it. Learning in the school was rude and intermittent. The church, however, wielded the chief influence. The town of Franklin had been ruled over for twenty years by a Calvinist of the most forthright convictions. In a tradition of which the fate was already discernible on the wall Dr. Nathanael Emmons chewed tobacco, wore a three-cornered hat and gave his congregation the terrors of hell every Sunday. The quality of his philosophy is suggested by placing side by side two of his most powerfully-held beliefs: man's mental life was merely a series of "exercises," the result of divine action, yet man also had freedom to choose and a definite moral responsibility. Such was the power of the picturesque in his tales of damnation that more than a hundred fledgling preachers came to him seeking the formula for success and it was even proposed that a main highway be built through the town to make it easier for pilgrims to drink from the fountain of his wisdom. His effect on the sensitive and already introspective young Horace was blistering. Others have recorded the spiritual blight of Calvinism. In later life Mann told an intimate friend that "a strange fascination" used to impel him Sunday after Sunday to read and reread a certain verse in Watts' hymn-book; the verse described a solitary soul wandering about in eternity, "rudderless and homeless." The young boy, accepting Emmons' theology at face value and goaded by its horrors, had a strong impression that the lost soul referred to himself.

All that was wanted was a bad shock. It came at the age of

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twelve with the sudden death of an older brother by drowning. At the funeral Emmons chose to describe the consequences of dying unconverted. Watching the despair on his mother's face and hearing her groan, Horace was thrown into violent confusion. He did not recover until he had repudiated a God who gloried in punishment of the wicked and a theology which taught that "the smoke of the damned was the enjoyment of the blessed." If this was grace, if this was salvation, he wanted none of it. Yet he never satisfactorily resolved the conflict thus joined. The Calvinistic strain ran deep. Later he always seemed to be seeking obliquely to get at something his firmest convictions forbade him to approach directly. For the casting out of an anthropomorphic God he found compensation in an ironclad, "scientific" morality. He has been called a Puritan in all but theology and it is possible that his so-called "martyr complex," which proved highly useful in dramatizing his battles for education, had its source in this unfinished struggle.

Solemn, thin-faced, repressed, he passed through the drab teens and at twenty, with little formal schooling behind him and only six months of tutoring in the classics, entered Brown University. Here and presently in law school he expanded happily for the first time in his life. At Brown he committed a sin, lightly and with pleasant consequences. In his third year the college authorities forbade a Fourth of July celebration traditionally held in chapel. With fellow students he entered a patriotic parade, marched to the chapel and delivered the principal oration. His roommate remarks that in spite of a small fine imposed on him he lost no credit with president or faculty. About his poverty he could occasionally smile. We find him writing to his sister,

> If the children of Israel were pressed for "gear" half so hard as I have been, I do not wonder that they were willing to worship a golden calf. It is a long, long time since my last ninepence bade good-by to its brethren; and I suspect that the last two parted in no friendly terms, for they have never since met together. Poor wretches! never did two souls stand in greater need of mutual support and consolation.

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Success began to look him squarely in the face. His brilliance went uncontested and his talk showed traces of that wit which so became him in his prime. The title of the address he gave on graduation from Brown, "The Gradual Advancement of the Human Species in Dignity and Happiness," correctly gives the trend of his mind. Mann was always the idealist and seldom gloomy when at his best. One of his reasons for choosing the law must have been its certainty, its opportunity for exactness and moral choice. As always his ethical bent was strong. When Lord Brougham, whose natural theology he greatly admired, described the duty of an advocate to his client in unlimited terms he heartily dissented. Mann took no cases unless he was certain of his client's honesty and the justness of his cause. This scruple limited the young lawyer's practice but in the end won him a fine reputation and a good 80 per cent of his law suits. In Dedham, Massachusetts, where he had chosen to take off on his career, life began to open up. His associates were admirable men, respected in the profession; through them he easily accepted the political traditions of the Quincy and Adams families and entered the councils of the local National Republicans. He became a member of a reading club, regularly attended the Unitarian Church, successfully ran for the state legislature. By 1830, when he was 34 years old, his debts had been paid long since and he was looking about for an occasional investment. Presently he married the shy young daughter of the president of Brown. He cared for her with a rare intensity as though she were some delicate, secret bloom.

He was now on the road to a respectable but conventional career. With Charlotte Messer as permanent hostage it is hard to see how he could ever have escaped the law or at furthest remove, politics. Then, suddenly, his wife died. Her passing smashed the little world he had been building for himself. At once he dismissed any future chance for personal happiness. Inevitably his mind was thrown back to his earlier tragedy; it was of these two events he was thinking when he admitted "my early associations with death are too much for my reason."

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To escape utter disorganization he immersed himself for the moment in his cases at law. Other factors, however, were at work. Already he saw the commanders of the new industrial state fastening down the economic hatches on the poor. He sympathized with the unfortunate—with the ignorant and the enslaved, with the lame, the halt, and the blind; he was beginning to believe that the chief hope of improvement lay in education of the young. For six years he had represented the city of Dedham in the state legislature and his political fortunes were on the rise. A fourth term in the house led to a term in the senate where he shortly became president. As head of the senate in 1837 he promoted and signed the bill creating the first state board of education.

A successful legislator, he probably had no immediate design on the secretaryship. When it was offered him his associates, ignorant of his inmost thoughts, believed him foolish to accept and were astonished when he paused to consider it. But footloose and by this time possessed of purpose he was not unwilling to give up promise of wordly goods for $1,000 a year and a chance to rouse the public to its duties. "Having found the present generation composed of materials almost unmalleable," he wrote, "I am about transferring my efforts to the next." He might consider children as wax but he was under no illusion concerning the toughness of the metals he would shortly be working on.

Had you attended a typical Massachusetts school in 1837 you would have found yourself in a small room stale with breath and heated largely by the body warmth of too many pupils. The geography from which you memorized and then recited would have been only one of half a dozen different texts used indiscriminately by your friends and there would have been no supplementary globes or other visual apparatus. The desks might have been arranged around the four walls or they might have formed a circle facing in or out according to the whim of the schoolmaster. If you were especially unlucky you might even have been confined in the middle of a long bench with an

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equally long desk in front of you and four or five fellow-sufferers on either side. And if you objected to any of these arrangements or otherwise displeased the teacher you could have expected a brisk hiding. Of course you might have been one of a considerable number who didn't attend school at all. Or if your parents were of means you might have been enrolled at a private academy.

Public education, in favor of which the colony had valiantly declared itself two centuries before, had gone the way of good intentions. It has been estimated that half of the women of the time did not know how to write their own names and that among the men the percentage ran only a little lower. Not much was expected of the teachers drawn from this body politic. The men, who taught the older children during the winter term, earned on an average $25 a month. With sectarianism still gripping New England they were chosen on the basis of professed piety and of ability to put the rod to fractious pupils. The women, who taught the smaller children during the summer term, averaged $11 a month. They were not expected to know as much as the men and seldom surpassed the expectation.

For 50 years no prominent person in Massachusetts had cared enough for the state of public learning to raise a rumpus about it. With abnormal energy and the prestige of political success Mann set out across the state to raise it. In the next 11 years he addressed popular audiences wherever he could find them, wrote 12 detailed annual reports for the state government and established a bi-weekly school journal. The reports, which have come down to us as embodying the chief points in his program, surveyed current conditions, weighed them and laid out the future for 100 years; together, they formed chapters in a kind of educational Bible. In the end he whipped public indifference into enthusiasm; his energy conquered Massachusetts, spread to other states and presently reached Europe. England and Germany felt his influence but the greatest foreign impact came in South America where Domingo Sarmiento, Argentine ambassador to the United

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States, years afterward imported Mann's ideas and many of his teachers.

His objectives seem commonplace if we forget their relation to history. Who, today, questions the desirability of normal schools, educational statistics, school libraries, the teaching of physiology? He was not above suggesting the proper shape for school desks, insisting on playgrounds or defining in detail the best methods for heating and ventilation. He fought also against the use of emulation and fear as motives. He thought the child learned best when he was happy and there is even a suggestion of progressive education in his idea that the pupil should begin with the familiar objects and facts of his own environment.

Educators have pointed out that Mann never had to prove himself as a teacher and that none of his ideas were original. True, James G. Carter, Henry Barnard, and Calvin Stowe contributed more to educational theory than he did and they were in the educational field earlier and remained longer. They were men who knew from experience what was necessary but they were content to proceed toward their objectives in an orderly way. The Mann of the Massachusetts secretaryship was not an educator in the usual sense. Essentially he was an idealist and a promoter. He believed that all children (whom, incidentally, as individuals he never understood) should be offered the same educational opportunity and that this proposition was fundamental to the continuation of democracy. But underneath all else lay a deep-rooted, Calvinistic conviction—that children were born (not in sin!) in ignorance. Education was salvation. Such a conviction is hardly that of a practical educator or even of a philosopher.

As secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education Mann paid all his expenses out of his meager salary. His perpetual energy drove him to travel countless miles to outlying towns on horseback, it stretched his work-day to 16 and 18 hours and deprived him of sleep. Because he thought he could not afford it, for a time he ate only two meals a day. This was a man who said that when he had anything to do he "always set about it

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like a fatalist." Although his sacrifices may not have seemed entirely necessary they were helping to create a dramatic figure for popular consumption—a figure gaunt, undernourished and worn with honest fatigue.

Public controversies fed the bonfire he was building under Massachusetts indifference. The most important was thrust on him at a crucial moment by the leaders of the academies, the Boston schoolmasters. In a paper 145 pages long they objected to his implied criticism of current education, one of their complaints centering on his intemperate language! This last was really nothing for anyone except a pedant to complain about, for it was his intemperance as much as anything else which had won him a hearing. Popular sentiment by this time was with him. His sentences rolled forth from tongue and pen with increasing power and pertinence. When he said "Had I the power, I would scatter libraries over the whole land, as the sower sows his wheat-field" his listeners sympathized. When he told them "To thwack a child over the head because he does not get his lesson, is about as wise as it would be to rap a watch with a hammer because it does not keep good time" they understood what he was talking about. And when he thundered "The common school is the greatest discovery ever made by man!" they knew him well enough to nod their heads sagely. Of such stuff are popular ideologies made.

Mann had not yet proved himself a thinker of originality nor did he seem a scholar of the first grade. Instead he had a quality which for his day was almost as admirable—a great yearning for whatever had the appearance or showed the promise of science. It is hardly astonishing that he accepted phrenology whole-heartedly. He had always felt a great need for certainty and exactness in his personal beliefs. Without knowing how to attack such problems he was always hoping to see politics and morals treated in what he conceived to be a scientific manner. Phrenology appealed to his notion of certified truth. In extenuation it may be said that historically the phrenological

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"system" helped to break down the rigidity of religious superstition and prepare the way for acceptance of true science.

In 1843 he married a second time and traveled to Europe. The gentle admiration of Mary Peabody soothed his tormented spirit and the journey to Germany and England brought him a number of new acquaintances. But in the early forties his most satisfying personal relationship was that with George Combe. He had been predisposed to the Scotch phrenologist through his writings; Combe believed that education should be secular and national and was engaged in simplifying social and psychological phenomena into a unified scheme of thought. Combe visited America in 1840-41 and we get an amusing picture of the two happy head hunters traveling about the country together, unobtrusively examining the features of their companions wherever they went. Phrenology was the serious hobby of a man who badly needed recreation; there is no evidence that it ever did him harm. His friendship with Combe was one of the few untroubled relationships of his career.

After twelve years of peripatetic labor in the cause of education Mann's health, never of the best, became seriously impaired. Instead of a vacation he chose to resume his rôle as legislator; his new reputation put him in Congress in the chair vacated by the death of John Quincy Adams. By this time government plainly took secondary significance in his heart and it is characteristic of him that he expected his new political career to provide a breathing-space and a minor kind of recreation. He misread the temper of his new colleagues and the insistence of his own conscience. The Congress of 1848-52 was not a hall for recreation nor was it a place where men could reasonably take council together. Mann had proved his ability at coining a witty, popular phrase and at conducting a spirited controversy through the newspapers but he had no stomach for the brawling, blow-for-blow chaos that met him in the national legislature. Among the hard-bitten words of Webster, Giddings, Stevens and the obstreperous Southerners his own well-wrought speeches seemed beside the point.

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His convictions led him not toward outright abolition but to restriction of slavery within the confines already set. As always, he drew a careful chalk-line and then walked it. When two abolitionists were arrested near Washington for helping slaves to escape to the North he was the only prominent lawyer to serve in active defense at court. With the promise of physical violence in the air this took courage. But perhaps no more than later on when Webster joined Clay in the compromise of 1850; immediately Mann opposed the New England renegade in one of his better, more powerful speeches. He could hardly hope to defeat the plans of the god-like Daniel. But in the succeeding months he gained the satisfaction, against all the forces the great politician could muster, of winning reelection. Statues of these two antagonists, whose personalities were opposed even more directly than their brief controversy would suggest, ironically stand together today before the Massachusetts State House.

Mann was growing weary of his new rôle, learning in the hard way a truth which he was later to admit—that in Congress he always seemed like "a skinned man among nettles." In 1852 he listened to a little group of the Christian sect who suggested that he come out to Ohio as president of a college to be called Antioch. The offer attracted him. His visitors assured him that the new institution was to be non-sectarian and without prejudice to sex. It might prove a good opportunity to work out some of his new ideas—and besides, it was time he was returning to what he knew best. Upon reassurances of good will from the Christians he accepted though he did not go out for another year. No decision of his life took more love for a cause or greater temerity; he was 57 and Ohio to a New Englander still seemed on the edge of the wilderness.

Women's rights came to Ohio in 1853 in the tangible form of Mrs. Bloomer, the lady of reformed dress. Her presence in the town of Mount Vernon, some miles to the northeast of Yellow Springs, may have vaguely disturbed Mann, for he disapproved of women agitators dressed in hats and trousers. He thought he had something better in store for them than their

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rights. Earlier he had proclaimed women rather than men the proper preceptors for the young. Now he committed himself to coeducation—so frankly so that three girls presently resigned from Oberlin, the original institution of coeducation, to enter the "freer" Antioch. The new president, however, found graver problems confronting him than the social status of the new woman. Neither the inhabitants of the little village of Yellow Springs, primarily a summer resort, nor the founders of the college were prepared to meet their new master. In the first days the members of the Mann family, like any party of visitors from Cincinnati, had to live in a boarding house. The main college building had no desks, no chairs, no heating equipment. It is related that under the normal deluge of spring and autumn rains the campus became a bog and that pigs wandered about at will, even entering the college eating hall which was as yet without benefit of doors.

"If Adam and Eve had been introduced into Paradise," Mann wryly remarked, "as early in the progress of creation, in proportion, as the faculty were introduced at Antioch, they would have been created about Wednesday night." But he could withstand hardship if there were purpose in it. Students, poor and illy prepared, entered to the number of 150. He ate with them at the common dining tables, teaching them manners, and saw the great majority, unable to meet the college standards, well launched on a preparatory course.

There were some weaknesses he could not alleviate. The college was inadequately financed. A small initial fund had already been spent; as for other income there were only $100 "scholarships"—a kind of bond whereby if only the annual interest were paid a student might receive free tuition. The president never received more than a part of his modest $1500 yearly salary and his family might have been reduced to poverty had not the Mid-West sought—and paid for—his extra-curricular lectures. The college, in fact, was bankrupt on the day it opened and remained so for five years. Some of the Christians, moreover, were reneging on their early commitments. They looked

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over the new leader they had so hopefully selected for his national reputation and disapproved of him. Who was this free-thinker that he should be introducing his atheism into their college? What did he mean by choosing two of his Eastern friends for the faculty in preference to home talent that was practically as good? This group stubbornly fought to turn part of the institution into a theological seminary and sought indecently to subvert the president's program even before it was well established.

Mann has been criticized for poor administration. Certainly he should have known better than he did what it was he was accepting and perhaps he should have extracted a more explicit agreement from the denominational founding fathers. But once on the ground it is hard to see how anyone could have improved on his efforts. What other man of his stature would have labored so cruelly under such embarrassments? Keeping a fierce grip on his ideals, he turned loose all his old demoniacal energy on the material at hand. In the end he made the college come true of his own will. In the end he himself became the institution.

Antioch College is today the most tangible heritage he left behind him, for it holds more closely to his ideas than one might reasonably expect after 80 American years. His spirit is not wholly absent and his name is occasionally heard in the college halls. It is possible he would not understand the sense of humor so prevalent on the campus. The letters of his young manhood show that he was not born utterly solemn. But by the time he undertook the serious burden of education he seems to have squeezed from his personality most of the fun possible. In his popular lectures there is scarcely a gleam. To the first graduating class he vehemently condemned "all brawling jollities or sports unworthy the nobler faculties of man" but wished to "advance an earnest plea in behalf of elegant and refined mirthfulness." The cooperative plan would have astonished him. Yet this is directly traceable to the idea which he expressed in "symmetry," a word which President Arthur E.

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Morgan accepted and used at its face value. Both these men believed that the student should be well-rounded, that he should be acquainted with all fields of knowledge, that he should know the practical as well as the theoretical. Although the "all-around man" was once a fraternity shibboleth, the liberal college has never pushed the idea to its furthest development. There is reason to believe that it is not yet well understood; so late as last year the dailies of two of the country's largest universities continued to refer to the Antioch plan as essentially vocational. He would be delighted with the broad health program of the college. His first lectures concerned a pet subject, physiology, and he once boasted that Antioch paid "far more attention to physical education than any other institution (except military ones) that I know of in the world."

Community government, by which faculty and students democratically control their joint social and political relationships, at first glance would probably baffle him. Yet it is again a logical development, for he yearned after a type of society wherein every individual might find his true recognition. He sought to stimulate a community feeling among his students, believing that their position "created in them serious duties and responsibilities toward each other." He found, however, that in his rôle as creator and administrator he could hardly wait for democracy. His system was severe and though he tried to take into consideration such contingencies as conscience it sometimes seemed arbitrary. A student, writing home to her father in 1858, tells melodramatically of spies listening at college keyholes. She refers to the Mann code, a new standard of honor, by which the president expected every member of the student body automatically to become his brother's keeper. Such a departure from the traditional student code of mutual protection and conspiracy by silence, a departure based on faulty psychology, could not be successful. The ultimate penalties were too severe—public reproof, in which the president called the criminal to his feet in general assembly and generously dressed him down, or if the crime seemed beyond hope of

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expiation, plain dismissal. Yet such was the force of his conviction that no overt rebellion occurred. Thus he withstood his severest test. For the rest, evidence plainly shows that his students revered him.

His ideas at Antioch show a greater originality than those of his Massachusetts career. He was more experienced in education; he knew at last exactly where he wanted to go. Coeducation, the teaching of physiology and science, learning without artificial stimulus or social restriction, symmetry, a strong moral code—he took them all and against odds made them generally effective. At last he also won financial freedom. Early in 1859 the college was sold at auction; the buyer was a friend and two months later the institution was turned back to its president free of debt.

His death came abruptly in August of the same year before he could enjoy his success. Not, however, before he issued one final phrase worthy of his best. His last speech, a baccalaureate address, closed with the most dramatic line of his life: "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity."

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Liberty—Weasel Word

JOSEPH ALEXANDER LEIGHTON

THE idea of Liberty has played a major role in the history of Western civilization. In the introduction to his *Philosophy of History*, Hegel says: The idea of freedom *is* the very nature of spirit and the absolute goal of world history—"the *final cause of the world at large*, we allege to be the *consciousness* of its own freedom on the part of spirit and, *ipso facto*, the *reality* of that freedom." The philosophers of fascism and nazism base their doctrines of the totalitarian state on Hegel (notably Gentile and Rocco). Mussolini says: We have trampled on the putrescent corpse of the goddess of Liberty and we shall do so again. Russian Communists derive their philosophy of history from Hegel: substituting, as the moving spring of the dialectic process, the system of productive economic relations for the ideological factors of social morality, religion and philosophy. The New Deal in the United States is offered as the way to liberty for all; and its critics say it is destroying the great tradition of American liberties. The word "Liberty" suffers from more than one ambiguity.

The United States was born and cradled in the very heyday of the philosophy of individual freedom. Although the Puritans believed chiefly in freedom for the Puritan oligarchy, and the rich colonial merchants did not believe in democratic freedom, owing chiefly to the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian leadership of the lower middle class, democratic individualism spread, rapidly here, more slowly in England, France and northern Europe.

The Declaration of Independence assumes as self-evident three propositions: (1) that there are Natural Rights; (2) that with respect to the enjoyment of these rights all men are equal; and (3) that the three basic rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

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The specification of the rights of personality and the modes of their application depend always upon the existing social structure, which has had a history. The rights and duties of an Athenian of the fifth century B.C., a European townsman of the twelfth century, and one today are not the same. Rights are never fixed and absolute. They are always relative to a social situation. The nearest approach to absolute rights is the right to the life and freedom of one's own body-mind or self. But even this right is limited. Not only must I not exercise this freedom in such ways as to injure the like exercise of freedom by other selves; because I owe my own security and freedom to the maintenance of a social order, the state may demand my service in a dangerous enterprise—to apprehend vicious criminals, put down sedition or defend the community against a violent attack upon its existence.

We are concerned primarily with what liberty means in our present society. Many say that any considerable state control of economic activities deprives a man of all his precious liberties, that the price of economic security is civil and political bondage, that the greater the approach to equality the farther away liberty flies. Others assert that the contrary is true; that the only way in which the equal liberty of all can be maintained in our system of mass production, with close and increasing interdependence, is to restrict the economic liberty of individuals; that the unrestrained exercise of economic liberty by a small minority who combine unusual energy and ability with ambition to amass pecuniary power, destroys liberty for all others. They maintain that the only way to realize democratic liberty today is through as much equalization of economic opportunity as is possible without the destruction of those opportunities for personal development which constitute the genuine content of civil and spiritual liberties.

Liberty is a weasel word. In the first place it is never liberty but liberties. In the second place liberties, if they are more than empty phrases, are not negative; they are positive. They are socially effective opportunities for the realization of person-

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ality. Man is in essence a self-determining dynamic being; therefore physical liberty is the indispensable condition for the realization of personality. Thirdly, man is a spiritual being, who feels, thinks, aspires, and wills. Freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and association are conditions necessary for the realization of personality. Economic liberty differs from the other two species in that it is primarily instrumental, not an end-in-itself. It means opportunity so to use economic goods that physical and spiritual liberties may be enjoyed. Physical and spiritual liberties are both means and end-values since in their direct exercise consists the realization of personality; and of course the social conditions of economic activity may be obstructive, or even destructive, of the fulfilment of personality. It should go without saying that, inasmuch as the individual can realize personality only in a community, and inasmuch as some of the finest human values [1] are those of comradeship, friendship and love, social obligations are strictly correlative with rights or liberties. We can be truly free only as we think together and work together for the common good.

No doubt the thinkers of the eighteenth and early nineteen centuries, who thought that economic laissez-faire was an indispensable condition for the fulfilment of personality, were honest about it. They made the mistake of elevating an instrument into an end. They underrated the power of greed in human affairs. They were blind to the intimate and inextricable interdependence of human individuals as subjects of the good life. And they could not be expected to foresee that laissez-faire, through the growth of machine production and the increasing divorce of ownership, technical operation, and financial control, with the enormously rapid growth of concentration of financial control, would dig its own grave and eventuate in a decreasing number of groups, socially irresponsible but controlling the field. They did not foresee such a reduction of free competition that, under a technical equipment capable

[1] I do not admit that *all* the finest human values are included in interpersonal relationships. To me, sheer speculation and contemplation, both intellectual and esthetic, are intrinsic values of personality.

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of an economy of abundance, production and prices could be controlled to keep up an economy of scarcity. They could not foresee that the manifolding of capacity to produce would result in a succession of waves of depression and boom, with the trough going deeper as the crest goes higher. Economic liberty, under the unchecked profit system, grows less and less. By reducing its own field of operations, through increasing concentration of control, the profit system reduces economic opportunity. As profits fall, unemployment increases and profits fall further. There is no way out but to prime the pump.

If we assume, as our starting point, that civil and spiritual liberties, which are bound up together and which we may lump together and call personal liberty, have intrinsic value, the burning question today is this: how can economic instruments be so directed as to preserve and enhance these precious personal values?

In the present variety of political controls of economic instruments there is a welter of confused economic aims, cultural aims and jingoism. What is the totalitarian state of fascism and nazism? Is it not, on the one hand, an attempt to preserve private capitalism by the use of force and, on the other hand, to do this by reducing the individual personality to a cog in a vast machine to enhance the grandeur of Italy or of the Aryan Fatherland, conceived as mystical bodies? One recognizes that there is a mixture of motivations. But did not Mussolini rise to power chiefly through the support of the middle class, and did not Hitler rise to power through the compensatory reactions of a humiliated fatherland plus the lower middle class fear of communism plus the financial backing of Fritz Thyssen and the Krupps? The totalitarian state, in which the individual has no primary rights but only so much personal liberty as the dictatorship extends to him, is an even more vicious and one-sided abstraction than the atomic liberalism of the eighteenth century. It is clotted nonsense to talk about the state as an entity apart from, or above, its individual members. What, in effect, supplies the mind and will of that mystical body, the totali-

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tarian state? Is it not the mind and will of the dictator and his oligarchic satellites? If there be something of intrinsic value in human personality, then no man and no little group of men are fit to be trusted with absolute power over their fellows. From the standpoint of the intrinsic value of personality the totalitarian state must be rejected as inimical to the ethical values recognized by democracy.

Liberty, thus, is a very ambiguous word. Politically, it means the right to choose one's agents in making and administering the laws. Spiritually it means the right to express one's own opinions in matters social, intellectual and religious. Socially, it means the absence of restraint on one's conduct. Now, clearly, the complete absence of social restraint is anarchy. In a democratic society there can be no such thing as complete freedom from restraint. If the individual is not willing so to conduct himself as not to interfere with the opportunity of other persons to live well he must be forcibly restrained. Every one admits this, in principle at least, so far as freedom and security of bodily life and action are concerned. But, as a result of associating absence of restraint on economic activity with the industrial and economic expansion and concentration of control of the past 100 years, it is not fully recognized that unrestricted economic liberty is impossible—would, indeed, be possible only on a desert island (where, with full liberty, there would be meager opportunity). The only freedom that is of any real value is the fair opportunity to lead, by honest work that enriches the total economic and spiritual wealth of society, a normal human life; one in which the common capacities for work, play, companionship, love and spiritual development get scope for fulfilment. Human beings are born unequal in their physical, intellectual and emotional powers, in their shrewdness and lust for gain and power. But, if the fundamental qualities and interests or capacities of human nature—their desires to live, to express themselves, to enjoy the sun and sky and earth, to have friends and sweethearts and children—are the sources of the basic values of living, then there is no other way

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but to control, for the satisfaction of these basic interests, the exceptional acquisitive, exploitative and domineering interests of the few.

The American dream has been that of opportunity to all for a decent life in this open land. That dream has not been measurably approximated. If we are to make a fresh start toward its fulfilment we must interpret freedom to mean greater equalization of opportunity, and at the same time restrain all so-called liberty to do as one pleases with one's economic property, where such freedom hinders the restoration and maintenance of equality of opportunity. Under large-scale production, with organization of economic life into giant corporations (about 200 are said to control 22 per cent of the total wealth of the United States), the more economic liberty for the financial promoter and the giant corporation, the more economic serfdom for the many, with lessening equality of opportunity. Herein is the tragic dilemma of the new industrialism.

Since the right to the pursuit of happiness is the right to the realization of one's vital mental and spiritual powers, and since these powers cannot come to fruition through penury, ignorance and the reduction of productive capacity, the more unrestricted economic liberty there is, the less concrete liberty there will be to live and to realize personality; and the more control of economic life for the equalization of opportunity, the more personal liberty, for personal liberty implies the possession of instruments for the realization of personality.

The more highly interdependent, complex and integrated our economic life, the more, if uncontrolled, it destroys individuality. The good life consists in the most harmonious functioning possible of all the normal capacities of human nature. There is no sufficient ground, on the basis of inequality in native capacities, for excluding any individual from participation in the good life. Unequal achievements of human value must start from equality of opportunity.

Production and distribution and the political system must be made instrumental to these ethical principles. Obviously, politi-

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cal and legal institutions, to promote the good life, must be quite different under an economic system of agrarian and handicraft production and under a system of increasingly specialized mass production characterized by a growing concentration of control. Under the latter system, if we do not have effective public control of the instruments of production and distribution, we shall have irresponsible private control under which, by various means of exploitation, an ever smaller minority may shut out the majority from any effective use of the economic instruments of the good life. There are only two alternatives open: (1) Publicly irresponsible private collectivisms manipulated for profit and power; or (2) a publicly controlled collectivism.

We are in the midst of a social situation that, in its sweep and the pervasiveness of its influence, differs more radically from that known to the founding fathers of the Republic than their social situation differed from conditions in the Stone Age. So long as industry depended mainly on man-power and a handicraft economy of production it was relatively simple to adjust individual liberty to the necessities of social order and authority. When this republic was founded 90 per cent of its people were small farmers. Even then there was a conflict between the aristocratic or plutocratic standpoint of John Adams, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison and the democratic attitude of Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry and Thomas Paine. But a compromise in the struggle for power, which is the incessant stimulus to political change, could be struck with the creation of a system of checks and balances and the specific reservation to state and local governments of all power not expressly committed to the Federal Government. And by implication the Supreme Court under Marshall assumed, reasonably, that its supreme function was the delimitation of the narrowly limited powers of the Federal Government from the much vaguer powers of local governments.

This constitutional set-up and its warrantable legal interpretations are now anachronistic. For the supreme outstanding fact

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of our present civilization is this—machine-industrialism means ever-increasing concentration of control. Decentralization of industry, as a remedy for present discomforts, is a will o' the wisp. What we have now is a socially irresponsible, but increasing, collectivism. We cannot go back, unless we scrap the machines. To do this would be the height of foolishness, for the machines, socially controlled for the common good, mean the liberation of man from labor too prolonged and deadening, mean a steady economy of abundance enabling human beings to lead the good life. To achieve this end we must substitute, for our private and socially irresponsible collectivisms, motivated without let or hindrance by the lust for wealth and power, a publicly controlled collectivism—a *planned economy*. And by a planned economy I do not mean just a little group of advisers to give friendly advice to industrial and financial supermen. I mean a National Economic Council with power derived from the consent of the mass of the people, expressed through elected representatives.

Now this creates a tremendous problem. How can we go forward and preserve civil liberties? Economic laissez-faire, under ever-increasing concentration of irresponsible control, has brought economic disaster to many and if left alone it will bring more of this evil. Rugged individualism is digging its own grave. We cannot trust all those who control the sources of power in finance and industry to be so open- and socially-minded as voluntarily to set up a self-denying ordinance whereby they transfer their powers to the nation as a whole. Even if they were so minded the problem would remain: How can the effectuation of a planned economy be made to team with the enjoyment of civil liberties? We must give up, in part, our negative economic freedom in order to preserve and enhance the positive opportunities for all to realize personality.

In the effectuation of this change there are just two alternatives before us: (1) We may install a dictatorship (capitalistic or communistic) and take away all civil and spiritual liberties. This is the quickest way. But to my mind it is an end purchased

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at too high a price. A people regimented, as in Italy, and worse still, in Russia and Germany will either become a set of puppets who cannot carry on with vigor and initiative the complex tasks of our civilization, or they will explode and overthrow the dictators, or the dictators will die and the new dictators will not be able to carry on. And the last state of that people will be worse than the first. (2) The other way, the way of the English-speaking peoples hitherto, is to keep the maximal freedom of speech, assembly and organization and, slowly and fumblingly, at the cost of wasted efforts and false starts and by compromises between private initiative and public control, to muddle through to a greater measure of social justice. This means that, to the mass of people, there is brought the challenge to inform themselves, to take their destinies in their own hands, to go forward as a whole toward a cooperative commonwealth of concretely free beings. Economically this commonwealth must be a planned economy. But I submit that a planned economy, developed through criticism and debate, has a better chance of carrying on than one with much more shipshape blueprints imposed by a Mussolini, a Stalin or a Hitler.

Perhaps our people have lost the interest and power to participate in the determination of their own destinies. I for one am still prejudiced in favor of the English-speaking political tradition and I would not give up, for any ready-made politico-economic machine, the civil and spiritual liberties the achievement of which has been the greatest contribution of the English, French, and Dutch to the social progress of the human race—much greater contributions even than the industrial Revolution. The problem is one of the coordination of civil liberties with economic regimentation. We must recognize that true liberty, *i.e.*, opportunity to become personalities, cannot be enjoyed by some unless open to all—and it cannot be open to those who are starving, homeless, defeated.

More economic regimentation is now the indispensable instrument of civil and spiritual liberty. The crucial questions are: how much socialized control and by what methods? These

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questions are too large to be discussed here, even if I had the necessary competence. But two points call for emphasis. (1) The continuance, however modified, of a system of private property is indispensable to any genuine personal liberty. Without it men will become slaves of a state bureaucracy. No matter how noble the professed aims this might be a vaster and hence worse tyranny than that of the concentrations of private capitalism. Power-seeking bureaucrats and their lazy or incompetent minions could exploit conscientious and competent workers. The continuance of private property involves the continuance of the profit system. We cannot both keep our cake and eat it. (2) Since the unrestrained economic freedom of a few is now incompatible with economic opportunity for the many, the critical problem is one of a greater equalization of economic income by control of the machinery of credit and production and the use of the taxing power to limit profits, the revenue to be used to further cooperation and equalization of economic and cultural opportunities. Since communistic egalitarianism is undesirable, and indeed an impossible chimera, what we need to do is to offer a fair chance to those who can and will work to secure the minimal conditions of decent living, both economic and cultural, with provision for security against unavoidable hazards. As a social ideal, absolute equality is an impossible, and therefore highly disastrous, dream. We cannot have both unrestrained economic liberty and general economic security and well-being. On the other hand, I do not believe we can get well-being at all as puppets of a "classless" society, inaugurated by the "dictatorship of the proletariat." The result would not be, in effect, either classless or a state of well-being.

We had better keep liberal democracy and go at these problems experimentally, making no undue haste to set over us that great Leviathan, a totalitarian dictatorial bureaucracy. We can, if we will, keep the Napoleons of finance and industry within bounds, using their abilities and allowing them modest returns for services rendered. The heart of our problem is the preservation and enlargement of the borders of opportunity for the ful-

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filment of personality. We shall not do that by beginning with the negation of moral individuality. I can suggest only very briefly some of the main principles of political reform.

(1) We must remove our administrative agencies—legal, educational, welfare and economic—as far as possible from the control of party politics.

(2) We must simplify and reduce our political instruments, legislative and administrative. We should have smaller unicameral legislatures, meeting at regular intervals, to write enabling laws, pass budgets for administrative purposes, and of course to make such reforms in general laws as are necessitated by changing social conditions. Administratively we should elect our executives for longer terms. We should reduce the number of territorial administrative units and extend the area of interstate control in regard to industry and commerce as well as crime. I think we should have, as permanent features of our political system, a national economic planning board or council enabled by Congress to enforce its decisions when necessary. If an amendment to the Constitution is necessary then it should be so framed as to enable the Federal Government, as well as subordinate units, to go farther than at present in public ownership and operation, where private enterprise cannot be controlled or, as in the case of low-cost housing, where private enterprise cannot be induced by the profit motive to do the work. Finally, we should adopt an educational qualification for exercise of the suffrage. No individual who cannot pass an elementary examination on the principles and problems of American government should be permitted to vote.

There are many alarming indications that a large proportion of our population is utterly indifferent to the preservation of the values of civil and spiritual liberty. If we regard these liberties as precious prerogatives of citizenship we shall have to work and fight to preserve them. If they are abandoned, as they are under both fascism and communism, we shall have become traitors to the spirit of '76.

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The Fascisti's March on Scholarship

MAX ASCOLI

THE march on Rome at the end of 1922 aroused great excitement in Italian universities. What the professors could see, peering into the stormy streets from the windows of their classrooms, was mystifying indeed. They could recognize no friendly face among the commanders of the conquering party. Professors and intellectuals had been traditionally found among the leaders of every Italian political group, but in the leadership of the fascist party there were none. A few inconspicuous university teachers had joined the non-marching units of the victorious party, but this fact heartened their colleagues only to the extent that it offered them material for gossip. Professors are generally endowed with a sharp and narrow wit which grinds contemporary events into heaps of faculty-club jokes. The faculty stories about the political past of the few professors who had jumped on the band wagon were as entertaining as the examination stories about some of the new national leaders. Many of those whose names were on the front page in October 1922 had a few months before been candidates for examinations and degrees under the special academic regulations for war veterans. So many P's had been granted in the post-war years, the academic standards had been so greatly relaxed, that to some professors a revolution appeared as the least of the evils that could possibly follow.

In Italy, then as now, to be a scholar means to a very large extent to be a professor. Almost all the universities are state owned, and a professorship means tenure and pension. Salaries are low, but those who cultivate a not strictly scientific discipline can increase their income by professional work. As a state functionary an Italian professor has additional privileges, such as

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the right to low-cost housing and a 50 per cent reduction on railroad fares for himself, his family and maid. The majority of scholars come from the same middle class strata that furnish the great bulk of Italian bureaucracy. A professorship means in modern Italy what a curial office or a minor bishopric meant in the days when the Church was the leading power. The Italian professors, generally speaking, were in the autumn of 1922 a mass of conscientious, prudent and law-abiding state functionaries, highly puzzled by the new régime and inclined neither to enmity nor to friendship. At the beginning of November, whether of 1922 or of any other year, courses get into full swing and professors, no matter how bewildered or worried, go back to work.

Italian scholarship since the middle of the 19th century has been deeply influenced by the process of national unification. In every field of intellectual activity the fact of national unity has imposed the need to solve two great problems—to bring culture to a uniform level throughout the nation and to catch up with the leading intellectual trends of the outside world. Culturally Italy had been a unity since the 13th century; scholars from the South could easily find audiences and positions in the Northern states and vice versa. During the centuries in which the country was divided the word "Italy" had had a concrete meaning when referred to Italian scholarship, literature, and art; it represented the highest state of consciousness of those individuals who had dedicated their lives to the craftsmanship of learning or of expression. But too vast a portion of the population had remained severed from this state of consciousness. Italian scholars and artists were burdened with a heavy task when the country was unified: they had to extend Italian culture to the Italian people. Since the Middle Ages there had been a national culture but it had been decaying from the time of the Renaissance; after the Risorgimento the problem was one of creating a culture of the nation at the service of the nation.

Francesco De Sanctis in his *History of Italian Literature*, written in 1870, the year Italy conquered her Capital, sounded

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the keynote. Every scholar and artist, he wrote, must be aware of his primarily educational function. Having surveyed the growth of the national culture during centuries of a loose, haphazard formation, De Sanctis mapped out the whole field, determined the gaps to be filled in, the links to be established. The culture of Italy could be original and yet European, popular and yet refined. To have numbered in the national past a great untranslatable philosopher like Vico, a pure poet like Leopardi or a scientist like Galvani was certainly an honor; but political unity imposed the cult of the divine average in the field of culture. Carducci was the most complete realization of the new educational and political aims; he was a powerfully formative poet who made the Italians of his generation grasp the meaning of their past and the varying character of the different sections of their country. He was also a thoroughly competent specialist in the field of the history of Italian literature and vigorously preached modesty, earnestness, competence in the day by day toil of scholarship.

This insistence on culture in the task of building a nation proved to be a great success, greater perhaps in the field of scholarship than in the arts or in literature. Italian intellectuals had to import many techniques from abroad, especially from Germany. Southern brilliance learned how to submit to the test of thoroughness and sobriety. In some fields brilliance did not survive, and dullness (as for example in the field of jurisprudence), became the price of thoroughness. In other fields the achievements proved to be of vast and lasting importance—in the field of Roman law, with men like Scialoja and Bonfante, and of history, with the work of Pasquale Villari and Gaetano Salvemini. In the first quarter of the 20th century Benedetto Croce presented Italian scholarship, ordered and displayed at a high scientific level in all its branches, to the world.

It is hard for an Italian to measure the importance of Croce's system by comparing it with the leading systems of our time, such as Bergson's intuitionism or John Dewey's instrumentalism. But the importance of Croce's leadership for Italian

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culture during at least a quarter of a century cannot be overstressed. He set practically all standards for Italian intellectuals, and this he did with clarity, reasonableness and competence. He set forth the meaning of beauty, and pointed out concretely what works of literature in Italian and world history corresponded to his pattern of beauty. He explained what is scientific and what is not, what is the function of law, of economics and of scholarship. He promoted those scholarly editions of Italian classics and those scientific translations of the world's philosophers on which all Italian students from the end of the 19th century have been brought up. Immensely industrious, with nearly universal first-hand learning, Croce offered to Italian scholars systematic tools that were easy to handle and did good work. Friends and opponents learned from him how to be efficient in the daily labor of scholarship, how to be realistic in their approach, contemporary with their time. Furthermore Croce, who had never bothered to get a doctor's degree, had the advantage of not being a professor. He thus offered a release from the drabness of schoolrooms, at the same time founding a powerful school of thought of his own with no other center than his hospitable study and with ramifications in every institution of culture. He was like a lay leader of an army of ministers, so effective and zestful in his piety as to confound all pharisaic pedantry.

This man, who offered criteria for discrimination in all things, possibly never thought that it would have been most important to stress the difference between right and wrong. At the core of his philosophy there was a certain moral vacuum, but the danger of this vacuum was not apparent since Croce himself was an extraordinary example of moral conduct. Although not of an even temper by nature, he showed encouraging friendliness to the young, was approachable by all and helpful on countless occasions. There was a wisdom in his conversation even more convincing than his philosophy. By word and by example he taught us how to do our duty, how to be attuned to that phase of history in which we happen to live. History

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always, he thought, tells us what to do, with no need of any abstract moral norm, good for all times. When scholars and artists know the boundaries which define their field of work, when men of action are active and men of thought are thoughtful, there is order in the world: this is one of the principles which in Croce's system takes the place of ethics. The assumption seems to be that history, although crude at every single moment, nevertheless follows a course directed toward a higher and higher civilization, and that men can entrust themselves to the flow of history because every situation as it arises can be encompassed by their intelligence and by their will.

Fascism from the very beginning appeared to be something which could allow little room for intelligence or will. To thinking Italians it looked like the simultaneous result of capricious chance and of historic or economic necessity, a combination of barrack meticulousness and of revivalistic hysteria. At one and the same time the leader of fascism seemed to be a belated Machiavelli's Prince and a political freak. Between such extremes in the mind of everyone it was difficult to find any intermediate ground for discrimination and clearsightedness. Those in favor of and those against fascism were equally emotional and radical. In the first few months after the march on Rome several groups of intellectuals entered the fascist party under the impact of many motives, including the belief that by working from within, fascism might be brought under an intelligent control. Giovanni Gentile, a friend of Croce, adopted this course and as Minister of Instruction was allowed in less than one year to accomplish a sweeping reform of the Italian educational system. Croce was glad to see the ambitions of his friend realized and during the first year and a half of the fascist régime was on the whole sympathetic to it. Perhaps he thought that some forces of history are singularly slow in turning to the world a side vulnerable to reason and that fascism was one of those forces, bound to change.

It did not change. Instead, the crisis of the Matteotti crime fell upon Italy in June 1924. This time professors did not peer

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out of windows. They began passionately arguing among themselves within the walls of universities. The issue rapidly became moral rather than political: Were rulers allowed to murder their opponents in order to hold their power? A deep emotion moved the conscience of a large group of Italian intellectuals, making them forget the traditional prudence of state officials. They could not keep silence. Since the Risorgimento Italian scholars had dedicated themselves to the task of building the nation, but not to have it confiscated by a party which in the name of the nation would ask for human victims. They wanted an autonomous, original Italy but not that kind of originality. Continuously vacillating between the idea of fascism as the result of chance and the idea of fascism as a necessity, they wanted to bring order into their minds and at the same time to place the nation again on a basis that would give reason and prudence a role. Croce joined the Opposition and assumed the leadership of the anti-fascist intellectuals while Gentile led those others who came out in defense of fascism. Gentile issued a manifesto and Croce did likewise. In numbers the group led by Gentile was perhaps the stronger; in moral and scholarly reputation the group led by Croce was superior. But the computation is difficult because not every scholar made a public declaration of his views. We can say, however, that after the Matteotti crime the bulk of Italian scholars split in two. It was a devastating crisis, shattering friendships and families and leaving its mark on everyone who passed through it.

With January 1925 came the second wave of the fascist revolution, the destruction of the parties of the Opposition, the muzzling of the press, the inauguration of the new order, called corporative. The secondary schools were placed under party control. The universities on the contrary were not affected. For at least three years teaching went on as usual. But there was foreboding in the minds of many that after the "coordination" of parliament, of local governments, of trade unions, the moment of coordination would come for universities too. At times high party officials threatened a general housecleaning

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in the universities. Some professors who had been prominent in the political struggle were forced to emigrate, but at the same time some younger scholars found in an academic career a refuge from the surging tide of fascism. As long as there was comparative safety there was some hope. Many then thought: "They won't dare, they don't trust those who side with Gentile and they cannot dismiss the best Italian scholars." For about three years there was an atmosphere of tense optimism among the besieged but not yet attacked centers of culture.

For good reasons the attack did not come. There were too many scholars on the anti-fascist side, united and convinced of the rightness of their cause, and at their head a fearless and absolutely independent man whose name was honored throughout the world. Only some fascist firebrand could advocate a mass dismissal. It has been one of the tenets of fascist realism never to make frontal attacks upon institutions but one by one to corner the individuals on whom the burden of an institution rests. The technique of dealing with individuals differs in each case. Violence is seldom used because far better results can be achieved through pressure and the retail buying of men—avoiding thus the myth-making mysticism that may spring up from attacks on corporate entities. Violence or direct action had better be only vaguely indicated as an unpleasant possibility which in the general atmosphere of reasonableness everyone will cooperate to avoid. There was little or no violence in the three years from 1925 to 1928. This period could be called the Era of Vanity Fair. Seats in the newly-founded Academy of Italy were promised to numerous anti-fascists of distinction, and after a long delay a few were actually awarded. Honorary membership in the fascist party was freely distributed to scores of scholars who could thus avoid rough comradeship with ordinary black shirts yet enjoy in the party a place of suitable eminence.

In 1928 it became clear that the tide was rising. The Fascist Association of University Professors was founded and the organization of fascist students was strengthened and given

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definite functions of political control over the teachers. Membership in the professors' organization was not imposed on anti-fascists; it was kindly offered to each as a chance to obtain complete political amnesty. Sometimes the signature to the application for membership was not deemed sufficient; but in supplementing it with a letter to the Duce the anti-fascist professor, sorely pressed by a somewhat unorthodox political record, could have his case cleared up and his right to a better career established. Sometimes in the confidential man-to-man conferences with the fascist emissary the anti-fascist professor was frankly warned not to behave like a child—did he not know that all his best friends who were talking with him about moral integrity and resistance had already written letters to the Duce? A few names and a few sentences extracted from their letters could discreetly be mentioned to him. This period, from 1928 to 1931, could be called the Era of the Epistles.

In the Autumn of 1931 everything was ready for the final turn of the screw. All professors were ordered to take an oath of allegiance to the fascist régime. Now, after such steady individual training, Italian scholars were judged to be sufficiently drilled for a collective manifestation of unanimous faith. Twelve still refused. Others who were abroad decided not to go back. Groups of scholars in various countries signed letters of protest against the Italian government. And this was all. The coordination of Italian scholarship was accomplished so smoothly that the only sound reaching the outside world was the faint echo of those twelve no's. After that there was silence.

It would be inaccurate to say that now in 1937 there is still anti-fascism, either widespread or latent, among Italian scholars. This battle, too, has been won by fascism. I believe that in Italy today there are many former anti-fascists who have submitted to the oath of allegiance with comparative earnestness as to a surgical operation which has forever severed their tie with politics. Some of them feel that together with their political interests they have also lost their self-respect. Some do not want to suffer the unpleasant feeling that they have been coerced, and

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manage to be convinced that a sharp cut with their political past was the right thing. Individual situations are vastly different, as the pressures have been different. As far as one can now judge, there is no spirit of revolt but a desperate hopelessness and weariness—the attitude of men who feel there is no sense in all the events that have crashed over them—war, revolution, empire; or in the actions they have performed—protesting, recanting, saluting in the style of the Roman gladiators, taking oaths, wearing black shirts. Therefore, as far as they can, they avoid thinking and give themselves over to the routine of teaching or to the drabness of erudition. For them thinking is an illness of the mind that aggravates their weariness.

This condition is general among Italian scholars and affects both those who were forced into the fascist party and those who entered it voluntarily. Everything that fascism could give to satisfy petty academic ambitions has been given, but the results have very quickly turned to ashes. Between the inner life of fascism and the inner life of culture there is a division more profound than antagonism; they do not mix. Neither language can be translated into the other. Fascism cannot help oppressing culture, even with the most benevolent intentions. Culture cannot help being extraneous to fascism even when it accepts subservience. There is, therefore, now that opposition has melted away, more harmony now among Italian university professors. Former fascists and former anti-fascists, all fascists now, have realized that the fascist reality is something upon which intelligence and will can make no dent.

This is a hard lesson to the men of the generation brought up by Croce. This span of Italian history, covering 15 years now, bears no resemblance to that picture of a crude but essentially benevolent history outlined by Croce; nor do world events of the last few years fit into his patterns either. Cultured Italians are faced with the choice of denying, as a whole, the contemporary history of their country or of being sunk in it. In either case they cannot influence their own time—and this, according to Croce's system, is the failure of the intellectual function. Yet

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Croce, a man now in his seventies, bitter but unshaken in his moral strength, sets an example of intellectual bravery which definitely outbalances the pitfalls in his philosophy. The culture he once ruled is now slackening under a prostration that cannot be relieved by any governmental benevolence. The *Enciclopedia Italiana*, written by men of the generation brought up by Croce, is the testament of Italian scholarship and bears witness to the skill and learning that Italian scholars once achieved. Of the long overdue younger generation that should follow in the wake of the generation educated by Croce there are yet no signs.

The four men chosen by fascism as its outstanding victims were all scholars: Giacomo Matteotti, a criminologist, Giovanni Amendola, a philosopher, Carlo Rosselli, an economist, Nello Rosselli, a historian. All had dedicated their lives to the quest for truth. Over the rest of the scholars of Italy fascism won an overwhelming victory. Not only have they been cowed; in their own minds they have ratified their subjection by a general dislike for everything political, for long-range planning or for system-building. The resistance that many of them put up, each for himself, as late as 1931, was a brave one. But no one ever knew of it abroad. And many who resisted then are glad in 1937 not to remember it.

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Man's Place in Nature

STERLING P. LAMPRECHT

MAN'S place in nature is an old, old problem which has been frequently and variously treated in the great literature of the world. In ancient Greece Plato and Aristotle analyzed the problem with brilliance and defined a precise and convincing answer. At Rome Lucretius wrote his long poem to set forth a different and startling solution. Christian art and theology, though primarily concerned with God and the life to come, have formulated a series of theories about nature and man's relation to nature. Dante and Hobbes, Spinoza and Milton, Descartes and Hume have discussed the matter at length. Developments in biology and affiliated sciences in the last few generations have suggested fresh ideas bearing directly upon the problem. Yet it remains to haunt us today and to tempt us to formulate our own answer. The problem remains to haunt us because even the wiser and more illuminating of the earlier answers have not been identical. The problem remains to tempt us to formulate our own answer because almost surely, at moments of reflection on our persistent purposes and aims, we have to dispose of the problem or become listless in carrying out our purposes. A final answer, we can confidently say, has never been given. A final answer, and for good and sufficient reason, will never be given. It is, however, possible to indicate the general outlines of a satisfactory answer, emphasizing the fundamental points and leaving it to future generations to fill in the outlines with materials from their more amplified experience.

The good and sufficient reason why no final answer will ever be given is this. The place of man in nature is not one definite and settled affair. The place of civilized man in nature is by no means the same as that of savage man. In some respects the place of civilized and savage man is the same. All men are born

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of women; they inhabit animal bodies and are prey to ravages of disease, age, and death; they suffer from passions that are functions of their bodily constitutions. But where savage man practices crude rites in honor of a vaguely conceived spirit of vegetation, civilized man has learned to cultivate his fields. Where savage man recites charms over the sick, civilized man uses the arts of surgery and medicine. Where savage man regards the stars in order to discover the destiny in store for him, civilized man regards the stars in order to guide his own destiny towards ports of his own choice. In short, where savage man is the victim of forces he feels but knows not, civilized man is in part gaining mastery over his environment and dreams of greater mastery yet to come. Thus the place which man may come to have in nature is still in the making. Descartes 300 years ago expressed the hope that we might so follow his method as to "render ourselves lords and possessors of nature." We are not generally following his method today. Yet we still hope for the indicated outcome. And hence we cannot honestly give a final answer to the problem of man's place in nature. We can do much to describe the conditions of man's origin in nature and development through nature, but we cannot profitably undertake to prophesy the future status man may come to achieve.

In the light of the changing place of man in nature we may, however, say one thing with assurance. We may say (borrowing the eloquent phrase of Spinoza) that man's place in nature was originally one of bondage and is potentially one of freedom. In origin man is in servile status, bound by narrow limitations of time and space, bound by ignorance, crude impulse and passion. In destiny man may in part become supreme among the varying forms which nature exhibits, emancipated by disciplined imagination from superstition, brutality and blind chance. The essential point about this passage from bondage to freedom must not be overlooked—the passage itself is natural. In man nature comes to her most significant realization. In man nature manifests some of the most splendid potentialities

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that have lain forever within her. Man is, if we may speak boldly while humbly recognizing the extent of our own present inadequacies, the finest product of nature's art. His arts are her arts because she made him who thereby remakes her. Nature with man left out is not the whole of nature; and even nature as it was before man appeared and developed contained already the traits which made man possible and which, brought to focus in him and refashioned in specifically human form, are at once man's responsibility and nature's glory.

Man's place in nature, then, though varying from time to time, is at all stages an exploitation of nature's resources. That is, every fundamental characteristic of man's life is a peculiarly human form of a basic trait in nature. Let us see how this is so, beginning with obvious instances.

Man walks, we may say, because things in nature move. Of course other natural forms besides man walk, for the transition from inanimate nature to man is gradual. Indeed the gradual development from "mere motion," as in the fall of a meteor, to human walking is itself one of the minor verifications of the thesis that man's life must be viewed, not as distinct from nature generally but as a modification of nature's general traits. But for the purposes of this discussion we may at present neglect the intermediate forms between inanimate nature and man and may concentrate on man himself. Motion becomes walking, not because some agency has been injected into nature from without but because nature has in man acquired certain unique structural developments. We do not need to entertain any fantastic notion about a supernatural walker who mysteriously enters into human bodies and uses them to display his supernatural power and function. Given the physiological transformations of organic forms involved in the biped, man, we find that nature is quite able to account for walking without inventing strange fairy-stories to help her out. Did not things in nature move, man could not walk. Since things in nature move, man is bound, when he develops, to walk. Walking is the form, or one form, which the motion of nature assumes in man.

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Similarly man digests because nature is chemical. That nature's chemistry should become digestion was always potential. It has become actual in man and in animal life generally. The conditions for the development of nature's chemistry into human digestion are altogether physiological: they consist of stomach and intestines and the like. But nature is quite competent to provide these conditions and has indeed done so with marvellous fertility. Nature needs no outside agency to effect the transition from inorganic to organic. Nature's chemistry takes on many forms of which digestion is one of the most complex and important. Nature is chemical and man digests; man's digestion is analogous to man's walking. Man's digestion is an exploitation, due to the occurrence of specialized organic conditions, of one of nature's ever-present chemical potentialities.

Now if we proceed beyond these obvious facts in which man resembles many simpler forms of life and turn our consideration to certain peculiarly human activities in which man is perhaps differentiated from all other natural things the same type of cosmological relation continues to hold. Man thinks because nature is intelligible. Thinking is not something which goes on within the head, as if some materialist would identify it with cortical processes. But neither is it something which goes on in a mind apart from nature, as if some transcendentalist would dignify the intellectual life by keeping it altogether distinct from nature. Of course there are images galore which distract our thinking; but we should not allow the psychological play of images to be confused with genuine thinking. There are errors galore which ruin our thinking but we should not allow the perversities of man to make us blind to man's genuine achievements. There is no more reason to import mind into nature from without than there is to import a walker or a digester. Thinking occurs quite naturally, as walking and digesting occur when physiological developments give rise to specialized bodily structures. There is no need to question the reality of the significant and unique processes which the term think-

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ing means. There are mental processes, there is the *actio mentis* as the scholastics of the Middle Ages called it, and these processes have the exact character which candid examination and detailed analysis reveal. Thinking can occur, so far as we know, only when brain and nervous system have developed to a high degree of perfection. But it is not to be identified with brain any more than walking is to be identified with legs or digestion with stomach. Man thinks by means of his brain. And what he thinks are the forms which natural objects about him have. Thinking is, as Spinoza put it, a union of the mind with the rest of nature. And such a union is only possible because nature even before that union occurs is already intelligible. In thinking we enter into the very being of things just as in walking we explore nature's spatiality. What we think and what occurs in nature are then not two things but one. Again to quote Spinoza, "substance thinking and substance extended is one and the same substance, which is comprehended now under this, now under that, attribute." Spinoza will not even use a plural verb with his seemingly two subjects, sacrificing grammatical meticulousness to philosophical accuracy and emphasis. The act in thinking is man's and may well be called mental but that with which this act of thinking is concerned is nature's form and may well be called intelligible. Some good souls, animated by a praiseworthy desire to exalt the importance of the intellect, treat nature and mind as two realities, separate and distinct; but these good souls invariably reduce both nature and mind to mysteries, making nature void of intelligibility and mind incapable of knowledge. In place of such separation and its attendant mysteries we should view man's effective thinking as an exploration of nature's intelligible forms. Only then can we properly grasp man's place in nature, as in him nature's intelligibility becomes his knowledge. Thus thinking, like walking and digesting, is an exploitation of a basic trait of nature.

Man predicts, we may now go on to say, because nature is mechanical. This does not mean that nature is wholly or solely what the science of mechanics describes with accuracy. The

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science of mechanics achieves its high degree of accuracy just because it abstracts one special aspect of nature's complicated behavior and, neglecting all else, gives a concise statement of this selected phase. Nature is much more than even a correct and fairly completed science of mechanics would set forth for our instruction. So when we say that nature is mechanical our reference is to a trait of nature that is apparent far beyond the phase with which the science of mechanics is concerned. Our reference is to the regularities of sequence and correlation we find to hold good in all departments of nature, in human passions and in social movements as much as in the parabolic path of a projectile and the swing of a pendulum. Everywhere in nature we find uniformity of causal connection, necessity in the structure of events, constancy in the way in which antecedents of a given type lead on to their sure consequences. Mechanism is a term by which we mean to sum up all that is involved in uniformity, necessity and constancy. In saying that nature is mechanical we are denying that it is capricious or whimsical. We are affirming that it is regular and dependable. That nature is mechanical throughout is an assertion that runs beyond available evidence and contains an element of faith. It is an assertion, however, that every increase of scientific knowledge seems to substantiate and no evidence contradicts.

Man predicts because nature is mechanical. Human foresight is an exploitation of nature's regularities and constancies. Were nature not mechanical, man could not predict or profitably plan. Since nature is mechanical, man can learn in part to control and through control he may advance the course of civilization. The advance of the race is not wholly a function of man's foresight: advance is conditioned by other factors also, moral and cultural. But advance could not occur unless man could rely upon uniformity, necessity and constancy in the materials with which he works. Prediction is not due to man's will power or his determination to drive nature according to his fancy. Man can no more coerce an atom than he can fling back an avalanche or chain the winds. Nature is full of variety

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too and this variety, taken superficially as it first appears, may well be the natural basis of man's waywardness and of many of his curious errors. But discipline progressively discloses that even nature's variety is a manifestation of hidden order. This discipline, disclosing nature's order, raises man from petulance to maturity. Thereby the mechanism of nature becomes the technique of prediction in man.

Philosophers and theologians have sometimes tried to deny that nature is fundamentally mechanical. The reason for their denial seems often to be the sad notion that if nature is mechanical man is doomed to imprisonment in nature. And some disillusioned and disappointed men with a little taint of what they regard as scientific information add that man is in fact already imprisoned in nature and is gradually learning the tragic extremity of his unfortunate plight. Such a theory is quite pathetically contrary to the abundant facts of experience and the sure fruits of practice. The theory may be an inevitable consequence of some curious conception of mechanism which as a suppressed premise in their argument subtly controls their conclusion but it is hardly tenable in the light of the actual procedures of the laboratory and of reflection upon the course of modern history. The more we discover of the detail of nature's mechanism the more we are able to predict, guide, control. Through reliance on nature's mechanism we mold nature to our human interests. More than 300 years ago Francis Bacon saw this clearly. Picturing a great center of learning and of scientific research he spoke of the purpose of the institution in these glowing terms, "The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible." These glowing terms are also sober terms. Bacon speaks of the effecting of all things *possible*. He does not let imagination run wild and picture the effecting of all things dreamed of and feverishly desired. We control, not through arrogant insistence but through studious observance of nature's ways. We have learned to fly, not because we like to be aloft

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in the air but because we know much about physical forces. We can reach no other conclusion than that nature's mechanism, exploited by man, becomes prediction and control as nature's motion becomes walking and nature's chemistry becomes digestion.

Man is a moral being, we may further say, because nature is characterized by incessant flux. In speaking of man as a moral being there is no intent to refer to him as excellent or noble. He may be that or he may be quite the opposite. But in any case he is a being whose life is perennially a moral affair. And this incessant urgency of the moral quality throughout human life reflects nature's incessant flux. In a world such as ours there is no refuge where gains remain secure and strife gives place to permanent peace. Wistful men, men lacking in courage to face existence squarely, have dreamed of escape from peril: they have built up fanciful pictures of a New Jerusalem whose inhabitants reside beyond the reach of corruption. Braver men have faced the turmoil of affairs with frank recognition that passage of time and occurrence of change are the very condition of all life. "You may not enter the same rivers twice" said Heraclitus long ago "for other waters pour in upon them." Human life inevitably assumes moral character in such a world. There are final goods, there are final goods abundantly in the sense of ends intrinsically and immediately justifiable and justifying. There are no final goods in the sense of ends beyond which new adventures do not lie. We do of course solve some problems, solve them excellently; but the solution of any problem is itself but the setting for new problems to which there is no end. Life cannot be good unless it is restlessly forward-looking. And that is why the popular objectives of most men are not sufficiently rewarding. Were the goods we gained for a moment to be ours forever the search for pleasure and the lure of material profit might be more worthy of consideration. But pleasure is trivial unless it be the by-product of activities that increase human capacities for further growth, and material profit is futile unless it be effectively organized in an expanding

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range of human activities. Every good occurs, and so every good ought to be judged, in its context in a developing world and an onward sweep of events.

Failure to see the basis of human goods in the flux of nature is a conspicuous cause of many cases of frustration and disillusionment today (and at all times). Some men waste time wishing for conditions they regard as requisite in order to permit them, in the possession of those conditions, to begin to lead the "good life." But that attitude is equivalent to making morals a matter of rare chance. In nature all things must be seized in their passage. The good life, put into its natural context, involves the meeting of actual conditions instead of dreaming of more fortunate ones—the meeting of actual conditions with a bold love of adventure and a ripe fund of wisdom. And it is in the light of this truth that we may understand why certain moralists from Plato to our own day have dared to speak of certain goods as "ideal goods." Ideal goods are not ideal because they are ethereal and nebulous. They are ideal because they increase the range of human powers and enable man to respond to a vastly larger environment. Knowledge is an ideal good, and so are technical skills and sensitive tastes and mutual confidence between persons—because they function in the urgency of nature's passage and make for practical effectiveness in meeting a variety of predicaments. Pleasures of sense and material possessions have no such role except they are in the hands of men who also possess the ideal goods. Thus it is the forward-driving character of nature by which choice between goods must be determined. The flux of nature becomes in man the inescapable fact of morality.

Once more, man is free because nature is contingent. Contingency is often regarded as an alternative to mechanism. In fact it is a correlative aspect of nature's ways. In our world we find that forces, once initiated, work out to their inevitable consequences. But the initiation of forces is not itself decreed. The laws of nature are statements of the mechanical phase of nature. They state the uniformities of correlation and sequence

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which events manifest. The laws of nature are not, however, dictates that compel procedure—they are not statutes or prescriptive enactments. The presence of contingency in nature is not evident at a glance because it is not effectively exploited by inanimate agents. Inanimate agents react to the actual stimulus of the moment; they react, it might be said, to the superficial. Intelligent agents react to more than the actual stimulus; they react to the potentialities of the actual. And these potentialities are always plural. The plural potentialities of nature are the significant basis of human choice. It is insufficient to argue that because things are as they are they will be as they will be. Rather, because things are as they are, an agent who imaginatively foresees the diverse potentialities of things may choose freely within given limits. Freedom is never total—it is not freedom *from* the world. But it is genuine—it is freedom *within* the world. There is at least no supernatural agency introduced into a mechanical nature in order to give man freedom at the expense of nature's laws. Rather there is natural development in the powers of agents within nature, and with the appearance of the physiologically developed organism of man there emerges the ability to handle materials in the light of their alternative possibilities. But the alternative possibilities were present in nature from the start even though they received no notable exploitation until intelligent creatures came to pass.

Stones, plants, even most animals are not free. They react only to the actuality which forces itself upon them with insistent pressure. Man is supreme among the products of nature just because, in imagination disciplined by stern experience, he can look through the actual to the potential, can respond to the actual in the light of the potential, can choose between the contingent factors of nature. Freedom is perhaps the latest development of a basic trait of nature; it is latest in time but supreme in importance. It is late because its appearance is consequent to the prior development of memory, imagination, knowledge. But even this latest development was latent in nature from the start, waiting for such a creature as man to enter through its

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possession into mastery over the rest of nature. Freedom is then the exploitation of nature's contingency.

Finally, man is religious. It is no simple feat to explain upon what basic trait of nature man's religious character rests. Yet the story of man's place in nature is not told unless this problem is resolved. Many anthropologists have said, both recently and back through the centuries, that man is religious because nature is terrifying. "Fear made the gods" is an ancient saying whose earliest utterance in literature seems to be already a monotonous repetition of a hoary tradition. And doubtless man's fears do people the dark with threatening forces before which he then quails. Yet an unbiased student can hardly accept this anthropological opinion as an adequate comment on the entire history of religion. Like many generalizations it throws much light on human acts but fails to tell the whole story. Man has often groveled abjectly before what he has feared, but he has found joy and serenity in his religious life too, and release from fears. Perhaps it would be more just to say that man is superstitious because nature is terrifying. But even this is not quite adequate, for it might well be contended that it is not nature that is terrifying but man that is afraid. To be terrifying is not a basic trait of nature but an illusion which nature rouses in the ignorant and weak. We can say no more than that man is often superstitious because nature appears to him terrifying.

If then we reject the old attempt to explain religion, by a kind of *tour de force*, as a function of subjective fears in man what then shall we say? Man is as surely and as universally religious as he is a walking or digesting or thinking thing. Man is indeed so persistently religious that his religious life must have some profound lesson to teach us about his place in nature. Perhaps we should boldly venture to claim that religion is not so much an exploitation of a trait of nature as it is a means whereby man seeks to establish against nature a glory that is all his own. Yet even if this be true, man is religious because nature is what it is, because of what nature lacks, because he craves something for himself which nature does not automatically

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give. That is, religion is not so much an exploitation of a basic trait of nature as it is man's comment on nature's insufficiency. Nature is essentially pluralistic: man craves unity. The basic pluralism of nature can hardly be overstated. Nature is a welter of diverse things and forces. In such a pluralistic world man can only live by turning the energies that singly would destroy him into a rhythmic unity that sustains him. Religion is man's experimental device for making nature humanly habitable.

Nature is raw material for all man is and does. It remains for man to transform it into the finished products of civilization and art. In itself it manifests no coordinating purpose and no sure outcome. Others besides Tennyson have fancied one far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves. Hegel saw the entire course of European history leading up to and finding fulfilment in the German nation—and since Hegel, Germany itself has tried out Bismarck, William II and Hitler, with other intervening régimes. Man cannot endure the unsystematic course of nature; he needs to establish order upon variety and unity upon diversity. He cannot abrogate nature's traits; he can, however, build for himself, out of the materials which nature profusely offers, institutions and programs and integrated arrangements. Religion is the imaginative enterprise in which this essentially human function is carried to ideal completion.

Of course religion is of many forms, some good, others bad, some wise, others stupid. There is no point at this place in weighing the merits of different religious types. Rather the point is this: that every form of religion, even the bad form, is some man's effort to bring much of nature's pluralism into the harmonious outline of an embracing plan. If his plan be vicious or silly his religion will be base or stupid. If his plan be noble and wise his religion will be of world import. Yet no religion, however excellent, can possibly be final. As Professor Whitehead has written, "The progress of religion is defined by the denunciation of gods; the keynote of idolatry is contentment with the prevalent gods." No effort of man to achieve harmony within nature is worthy of all men's loyalty. Such

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loyalty would quickly become subservience, as the fundamentalisms of history fully prove. Nature's pluralism may elicit man's religious integration as a response; it also forbids the taking of any such integration as a last word. To worship at others' shrines is always idolatry; we must abandon others' gods in order to be nobly religious ourselves. So man, outgrowing all religions, must yet be religious if he is to make life fine and full. Unless man come to love some enriching and embracing good, unless he create some rich harmony out of nature's pluralism, he will remain like other things in nature, a merely brutal and casual force. The embryonic goods which nature offers in almost disastrous profusion will be still-born unless brought into the embrace of an aspiration fruitful in organizing the whole of human life. Yet no aspiration can hope to organize the whole of nature and therefore other men must continually build their own alternative harmonies. But some religion is inevitable if man is to rise above the natural welter of things. Religion is the technique whereby man throughout the centuries has sought, and whereby he has in a measure found, effective integration. Religion is that aspect of life without which impulse does not become conduct, desire does not become aspiration, wonder does not become wisdom. If religion so conceived is not an exploitation of nature's pluralism it is man's rejoinder to that pluralism. Thus religion has its inception and its roots in nature, even if it has ever pointed beyond nature towards sheerly human goals.

The theme of this discussion could be indefinitely expanded. Man walks and digests, he thinks and predicts, he is moral and free and religious because nature is in motion and is chemical, is intelligible and mechanical, is incessantly changing and contingent and pluralistic. Man depends for what he is on nature and nature finds its fullest and most significant expression in man. Neither an adequate conception of nature nor an adequate conception of man can be developed in isolation from the other. The two belong together in theory as they exist together in fact. To deal with man is to deal with nature's poten-

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tialities; to deal with nature fully is, among other things, to deal with man. Nature and man are not two kinds of substance: rather they are related as raw material and finished product. Nature is essentially process: it is an endless process in which substance takes on varied forms, among which significantly is man. Man is process too; he is a process in which temporarily the course of nature is gloriously exemplified.

Other philosophies have given quite different answers to the problem of man's place in nature. Some of these answers deserve mention here, not to encourage controversy but to make more clear what the position above defended really involves. Perhaps two rather extreme and opposed answers are sufficient, if our purpose in introducing their discussion is briefly to draw sharp contrasts. The two answers that stand most opposed to each other and are also most instructive in contrast to the position above outlined are materialism and transcendentalism.

Materialism arises from exclusive emphasis upon the *origin* of man in nature. Since man arises within nature, so the argument runs, he is "nothing but" another natural phenomenon, more intricate indeed than most substances but made out of the same elements and limited to the same types of mechanical action. Life, we are then told, is but the physical-chemical properties of protoplasm. Man is a purposeless cluster of material particles whose entire mental activity is a quaint illusion, whose ideals are but compensatory imaginings by which we describe hidden bodily functions and drives, whose meaning is exhausted in the interplay of his internal bodily organs.

Transcendentalism arises from exclusive emphasis upon the *end* and *fulfilment* of human nature in its highest forms. The full integrity of man's mental life and the full validity of man's moral aspirations are asserted against the brutality of material forces, and therefore man is pictured as standing significantly outside the nexus of nature which constrains and compels all other things. Man, it seems, is more than a physical body. He must then be, so it is said, a soul, independent of nature in origin, entering strangely into the body and hence into the

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turmoil of nature but in his destiny preserved intact against nature. Whereas nature is blind, mechanical, void of value, man is capable of foresight, purposeful, the seat of all value. As black marks on paper, however complicated and however numerous, cannot produce significance except to a mind able to understand more than it immediately sees, so atoms, however complex and however cleverly arranged, cannot give rise to consciousness or mind or soul. Man is spirit, entering into nature from "on high," mysteriously consenting for a time to occupy a material body but capable of keeping itself free from taint from the temporary union with the body, and is released at last to return to the higher level of existence which is its true portion.

Both of these answers, the materialistic and the transcendental, have their merits. Both are exaggerations, however, of one element in a more integrated view of the relation of nature and man. The materialist sees the facts of human origins so forcefully that he treats the whole career and outcome of human life in terms of that origin. The transcendentalist recognizes so sensitively the glory of man's moral and intellectual development that he would give to man an origin imaginatively pictured in terms of his development. Both materialism and transcendentalism have a partially empirical basis. But neither is empirical enough. Man has both origin and developed capacities: he has, in a classic phrase from Santayana, both natural basis and ideal fulfilment. And both the identification of basis with fulfilment by the materialist and the separation of fulfilment from its basis by the transcendentalist are artificial solutions of a problem that ought to be treated in the light of man's continual experience of his unique transformations of nature's basic traits.

The root of the inadequacy of both materialism and transcendentalism is a false view of nature. Diametrically opposed as these two philosophies are, they rest on a common premise—a theory that views nature as a myriad of tiny material particles, changing position relatively to each other, remaining fixed in

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constitution, dead, void of meaning, restlessly entering into combinations and breaking up again into elements, but capable of no genuine novelty. Were nature such, man would have to be debased into a futile material entity as materialism suggests or rescued from nature by some miraculous faith such as transcendentalism demands. But it would be wiser to resolve the problem by reconsidering what nature is. There is no need to deny the reality of the material particles, whether they be atoms or electrical charges, centers of force or some other entity defined by physical science. There are only waste of effort and futility of conclusion in combating the hypotheses which experimental scientists bring forward with evidence in their favor. Not all hypotheses of scientists prove acceptable in the end; but their correction is the task of those who can weigh the evidence and gather further evidence. It is not at all the prerogative of those who shudder at the seemingly "dangerous" implications which the hypotheses suggest for some general philosophical position. In considering the place of man in nature it is wise to begin by accepting humbly the probabilities which the physicist or other scientist tentatively sets forth as indicated by sufficient evidence; and the analysis of things into molecules, atoms and smaller particles is one of the credible conclusions of experimental science. But even if one may not deny the reality of the entities into which physical science analyzes matter one may, indeed one must, remember the reality of the things of which that analysis is given. Nature is what we have to analyze and is not exhausted by any one method. If nature is discovered to be molecular and atomic, well and good. It is much else too. The premature theories about nature that have grown out of temporary phases of scientific analysis are legion. The fault is not with the scientific analysis (at least the major fault is not here, though no analysis is infallible) but with the supposition that the analysis has disclosed the single "ultimate" truth about the nature of things. Descartes became so entranced with the geometrical aspect of nature that he defined nature in terms of extension and then he got into strange, even

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weird, difficulties which he could not solve. More recently people have been prone to define nature in terms of atoms or similar particles and then they either have to demote man to atomic motions or snatch him from nature entirely.

We ought to accept nature more piously for all it is and may be discovered to be without exalting a favorite aspect of nature into *the* reality of which all else is either a disguised form or a perverted fancy. If rocks and butterflies have atomic constitution and this constitution throws light upon their behavior, well and good. The atoms are not, however, the ultimate elements out of which rocks and butterflies are obtained. Rather rocks and butterflies are real in the full plenitude of their being and their atomic structure is one special aspect which a special kind of handling discloses. Examine nature in one way and you will discover its atomic structure. Examine it in other ways and you will discover its mechanical operation, its contingent occurrence, its rich potentialities, its vast resources and fertility of productive energies. There is after all only one philosophy that is not subject to Hamlet's criticism that

> There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
> Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

And that one philosophy is a philosophy which accepts nature in all its phases and aspects, open in mind to recognize new phases and aspects, neither credulous in taking fancies for facts nor arrogant in taking one system of information as setting limits to nature's infinite possibilities.

There are many truths about nature which cannot conceivably be deduced from the principles of atomic structure. These truths are no more and no less fundamental than the principles of atomic structure. He who has a petty view of nature will have either a petty or a superstitious view of man. The system of nature, if we dare refer to nature as a system, is of inexhaustible potency. It is no tight little system, definable in a few chosen postulates and then exclusive of whatever does not follow from these postulates. Nature is not a system in the sense in which we may speak of a system of mechanics or a system

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of cataloguing books in a library. Mechanics is a system in the sense that whatever does not fit into the framework of its principles is not a proper concern for the men who are developing the system of mechanics. Cataloguing books is a system in the sense that it must be adequate to enable us to find our way around among the books already acquired but it need not be a prophecy of the new kinds of books that future genius may compose. Nature has justified men in formulating the system of mechanics and in inventing the system of cataloguing books. But nature is still more, and its full capacities are immeasurably vast. Perhaps it would be better not to speak of the *system* of nature at all. Perhaps it would be better to speak of nature as that to which all our systems must be referred, by which our systems may be warranted, beyond which our systems have no meaning, yet of which our systems can hardly hope to convey the whole truth.

We deepen the significance of our lives by full and frank appreciation of our roots in nature. From nature we emerged, by nature our bodies and our minds are sustained, through nature we rise to whatever of achievement we may call our own. A wholesome respect for nature and its potentialities is the beginning of civilization. It is therefore the end of philosophic wisdom. This respect is not to be confused with worship: we may worship the excellence and beauty which nature makes possible but we must respect the whole of nature, even that which brings evil and disaster in its train. Only by acknowledging the dependence of our vital human characteristics upon basic traits of nature can we take the true measure of man. Only thus can we formulate an adequate theory of man's place in nature and an adequate practice whereby to improve that place. Even in the noblest role man comes to play in nature he remains nature's child. To grasp the significance of this claim is, I believe, the best means whereby man may learn to walk with assurance, to digest with health, to think with precision, to predict with accuracy, to meet moral responsibility with courage, to turn freedom into accomplishment and to pray with piety.

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The First Coeds

ROBERT S. FLETCHER

. . . educators, who scanned the horizon in the fermenting days of Andrew Jackson, had then begun to discover that the masculine dominion over colleges could not be preserved forever, and it was fitting that the first important experiments in co-education should be made in the Valley of Democracy. Oberlin invited women to share its facilities [in the thirties] . . . and Antioch . . . followed that example twenty years later.—Charles and Mary Beard in *The Rise of American Civilization.*

IT WAS in September 1837 that American girls for the first time undertook a regular college course. A hundred years later the college girl's position in the American educational scheme is unassailable. It was following the Commencement Exercises (then in the autumn) that Mary Hosford, Mary Fletcher Kellogg, Elizabeth Smith Prall, and Caroline Mary Rudd matriculated in the Collegiate Department of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute at the pious and purposeful Oberlin Colony in the Western Reserve of Ohio. This community of latter-day-Puritan farmers had been established in the wilderness four years before by John Jay Shipherd, a Presbyterian-Congregationalist home missionary from Vermont. Shipherd, a complete religious zealot, hoped to save the souls of the worldly westward movers then passing along the Erie Canal and the National Road into the "Great Valley" by using on them the high-pressure methods, the much-maligned "new measures" of his spiritual leader, the evangelist Charles G. Finney. The most essential feature of the colony was the Collegiate Institute intended for the training of "Gospel ministers and pious school teachers" to undertake the great task of evangelizing the West.

By the summer of 1835 the school was firmly rooted, with Asa Mahan, a New York Yankee and follower of Finney, as president and the great evangelist himself as part-time professor of theology. By 1835, too, the stamp of social reformism

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had been placed on the young institution alongside the brand of religious heterodoxy. Despite this fact, partly because of it, students flocked in from all parts of Ohio, from New England and particularly from the "burnt-over district" of New York which had felt the fire of Finney's burning eloquence.

The Institute was a complex organization, offering various programs of study: preparatory courses for both sexes, a ladies' course for the young women who had mastered the elementary subjects, a classical college course evidently planned for young men and leading to the bachelor's degree, and a theological course providing professional training for those mature persons, college graduates as a rule, who felt "called" to the ministry.

The advanced course for young ladies was clearly intended to be comparable to that offered at Miss Zilpah Grant's Ipswich Seminary or Emma Willard's school at Troy. It led to no degree and students were admitted with a somewhat less thorough preparation than that required for the college course. The young ladies' minds were not considered strong enough for the rigors of Latin and Greek but they studied history, geography, English grammar, Milton, geometry, physics (natural philosophy) and astronomy, besides being exposed to a large percentage of moral and religious subjects: Nevins' *Biblical Antiquities*, Watts' *The Improvement of the Mind*, Hopkins' *Christian Instructer*, Paley's *Evidences of Christianity*, Wayland's *Moral Science*, and courses labeled "Principles of Scriptural Interpretation" and "Lectures on Theology." From the first the young men taking the classical course in the Collegiate Department attended many classes with their "sisters" in the Female Department but in addition they also studied Greek, Latin and Hebrew. The exclusion of the ancient languages marked the main difference between a seminary course for young ladies and a college course for young men.

Coeducation broadly construed, called "joint education of the sexes," existed at Oberlin as early as 1834—before any young women actually attempted a complete college course. Already in some subjects—moral philosophy and astronomy for example

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—young college men and young women attended the same lectures in the same room at the same time and read the same textbooks. Some of the lady students were fully conscious of the unique character of the opportunities to which they were thus admitted. "Our advantages here are *great, very great,*" wrote one of them. "I heard one of the young ladies remark that when she first came here at almost every recitation her heart was so melted down in view of her great privileges that she could hardly keep from weeping." But coeducation then as now went far beyond the classroom. Men and women occupied dormitories on the same campus and the men walked the few hundred feet which separated their dormitory, Tappan Hall, from Ladies' Hall, where the young women roomed, to eat their meals in a common dining room in the latter building. The young ladies sat around among the young men students at table and, according to an early professor, exerted a marked "civilizing influence" among them. In the spring of 1836 the faculty presented a report to the trustees on the effect of coeducation on the "manners of young gentlemen," the "modesty of young ladies," and "whatever pertains to purity, propriety, and progress." They declared that the Oberlin experiment was a great success, that "the mutual influence of the sexes upon each other is decidedly happy in the cultivation of both mind and manners."

In the autumn of 1837, therefore, the first *college* girls, the first *college* coeds, attained that distinction merely by adding the classical languages to the other regular subjects which "female" students usually pursued.[1] Nevertheless it is clear enough that even in radical, "peculiar" Oberlin there was opposition to this departure from tradition. President Mahan and one or two others of the faculty may have been friendly but the lady principal, Alice Welch Cowles, who had studied in Joseph Emerson's school at Byfield along with Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon, was definitely opposed. Their first year, wrote one of the pioneer

[1] The facts and documents of the first matriculation of women in a regular college course are set forth by Robert S. Fletcher and Ernest H. Wilkins in "The Beginning of College Education for Women and of Coeducation on the College Level," *Bulletin* of Oberlin College, Oberlin, March 20, 1937.

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coeds, was full of "trials, perplexities and discouragements."

The administration might well hesitate. Oberlin already had a reputation for religious, intellectual and social heresy. Oberlin theologians sponsored "sanctification," "present salvation" or "perfectionism" as well as Finney revivalism and consequently Oberlin-trained ministers were barred from many pulpits. Eastern scholars claimed to be much disturbed by the substitution of Hebrew for part of the traditional Greek and Latin in the Oberlin college curriculum. Oberlin was everywhere known as the home of rabid abolitionism and the school which admitted Negroes freely with Whites. In the very year 1837 a dismissed student wrote a scandalous pamphlet against Oberlin charging the leaders of the enterprise with "wild fanaticism." He declared that "joint education" was very similar to free love and that undue intimacy was common between the students of opposite sex. This pamphlet, needless to say, enjoyed a wide circulation, giving Oberlin a more-than-doubtful reputation in many quarters.

But there was a spirit alive in this frontier college which did not take much account of material and "worldly" considerations. Though the young women were apparently not encouraged neither were they hindered and three of them, all but Mary Kellogg, went on to the completion of the course and became in 1841 the first American women to earn a regular bachelor-of-arts degree by the completion of a program of studies identical with that required of men candidates for the same degree.

Oberlin was located in a stump-dotted opening in the woods of northern Ohio three hours by stage (when the roads were reasonably passable) from Cleveland, then a rambling village of 5000 people. Mary Kellogg came from Jamestown in western New York, Elizabeth Prall from New York City (more students came to Oberlin from New York than from Ohio in these early days), Mary Hosford from Vermont (her parents were Oberlin colonists), Caroline Mary Rudd from Connecticut. They traveled by steamboat, canal boat, stagecoach and

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possibly, for a few miles, on the Mohawk and Hudson River railroad. All but Mary Kellogg must have consumed a week at least in the journey; it often took longer. Finally the coach would bump and sway out of the forest into the clearing and there was Oberlin, a cluster of log cabins and newly-built frame houses standing bare and unshaded about the long, cupolaed, barracks-like, brick structure which was Tappan Hall, the main college building and men's dormitory.

"Oberlin is bounded on all sides by woods," wrote a student in 1836. "I should think that all that has been cleared was about 300 acres, but yet they are clearing very fast & in a few years the woods will mostly disappear." The zing of the saw at the colony mill and the crack of the axes of colonists, students and professors working on the edge of the clearing were continuous in daylight hours. The acrid smoke from the burning windrows of felled trees hung low and penetrated classrooms and dormitories on sultry autumn days. Some land was already planted to wheat and corn and fenced with rails to keep out the lean cattle, the horses and the vicious hogs which roamed at large. The hogs rooted everywhere in the sticky clay; the horses and cows browsed on the straggling shrubs and wild grass between the buildings; chickens scratched and clucked at schoolroom doors.

The young men students were required to spend at least three hours a day in manual labor with the axe, the saw, the spade, the hammer, the paint brush or the hoe. They milked the college cows that wandered on the campus to supply the commons table for the supper of johnny cake and milk. The young lady students, rooming in Ladies' Hall, a large, wooden, frame house, served the meals in the common dining room where all sat about the long tables on backless forms. A college boy wrote to his brother a few years later: "I tell you what . . . it seemed quere enough when I came here too get up at five oc and then at six go out into the dining hall and take Breakefast with so many by Candle light. . . . I wish you could see some of our girls out here; especially a couple that set opposite me at table." In addition to waiting on table and washing the dishes the young

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ladies performed all the other domestic services, scrubbing floors, tidying their own rooms and those of the young men, mending pantaloons and socks and washing on Monday morning. For this they were paid two and three-quarters cents an hour and the charge for washing and mending was put on the young men's board bills.

The founders of Oberlin were followers of Sylvester Graham, the dietetic reformer, and the boarding hall menu was thus limited by philosophy as well as by poverty. No tea or coffee was served, pepper and other spices were forbidden, but a separate table was provided for those who insisted on having meat and were willing to pay the extra charge. Bread of corn or whole wheat was the chief element in the orthodox diet: bread with milk, bread with gravy made with flour and water mixed with pot liquor, bread with gruel, bread with ancient butter and even bread with salt and bread and water. When material was available, however, there were occasional puddings, baked apples and "garden sauce such as berries, potatoes, squashes, beets, onions, etc." A young Scotch student wrote home in the spring of 1840 describing the diet:

"Well at breakfast we have wheat bread & milk with corn bread that they call engine [*sic*] corn. . . . There is no oat meal. We crumble the bread in the milk and sop it. Sometimes [we have] apples beat up with sugar made from maple tree. . . . Sometimes at dinner . . . we have eggs beat together & potatoes beat to the eggs with apples. . . . Sometimes cheese just resembling squeezed curds [cottage cheese?]. Supper bread and milk. Our living is very plain you see but excellent. It is named the Graham system by one of that name in N. York living in that manner upon a vegetable diet."

The rules of the hall adopted by vote of the young ladies provided that all should rise at five in the morning and retire at ten in the evening. Mrs. Cowles, the principal of the Female Department, listed in her notebook "Duties to be performed": "Devote half hour in the morning to private devotions," "Room in order at eight o'clock," "No calling in study hours," "Not going to the pantry or bake-room without reasonable excuse."

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After the noon meal all of the ladies were required to gather in the living room for a few minutes to report their own infringements of rules—"failures" they were called. Once a week the "beloved principal" lectured to them on engagements, marriage, hygiene, politeness, dress, qualities essential for a minister's wife and "Rules for gaining knowledge and improvement." "She holds up before us the great laws of life & health, teaches us that we are 'fearfully and wonderfully made' and not guiltless if we trample upon these laws. Again we listen to her kind voice pointing out some defect in character, habits, manners &c and the remedy suggested." In all of these exercises the four college girls shared with those pursuing the regular Ladies' Course.

The lady students had their own literary society, known in these years as the "Young Ladies' Association of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute." They met every two weeks as did the men's societies and, like the men students, elected each other to offices, kept minutes and read poems and essays but did not attempt orations. On one occasion they even put on a dialogue on slavery in which two young ladies appeared with faces, necks and arms blackened despite Mrs. Cowles' view that it was contrary to "good taste for young ladies to appear in any coloring except what Nature had given them." At the public anniversary exercises in March, 1841, Caroline Rudd read an essay on "Prospects of Christ's Kingdom as Connected with the Movements of the Nineteenth Century." A faculty member commented: "Not very deep, pretty good,—read too fast."

The young ladies of Oberlin seem on the whole to have been fully as purposeful as their brothers and earnestly devoted to the reform causes. A "Female Anti-Slavery Society" and the "Female Society of Oberlin for the Promotion of Health" had been founded late in 1835. The most active of the ladies' reform societies, however, was the "Oberlin Female Moral Reform Society" which included wives of faculty and townsmen as well as students. In 1837 the Oberlin organization had the fourth largest membership of the 260-odd female moral reform societies in the United States. These organizations were devoted

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to the maintenance of what would now be called Victorian standards of prudery. While she was still a preparatory student Elizabeth Prall read an essay on "What is the proper treatment of licentious men?" and in her senior year in college she introduced a resolution which was adopted by the society, "That the disgrace of the gentleman who takes improper liberties with a young lady shall be as great as that of the young lady who permits such liberties." It was in the same year that Dr. William Alcott of Boston spoke before the Oberlin female reformers on "dress, diet, marriage" and Miss Sarah Towne Smith, editress of the national organ of the movement, the *Advocate of Moral Reform*, and president of the New York Female Moral Reform Society, pointed out "the immense responsibilities resting upon Young Ladies educated [at Oberlin] . . . and enjoying privileges probably superior to any in the world."

Oberlin had to be somewhat prudish to combat the prevalent rumor that the association of the sexes under "joint education" resulted in many moral irregularities. The basic rule of the institution was that ladies must "not receive at their rooms the visits of Gentlemen." Students who married before completing their course were required to leave and "gentlemen" were forbidden to tarry in their rooms while the young ladies were cleaning them. When in 1840 a new student wrote improper letters to a young lady an instructor and several theological students decoyed him into the woods, seized him, prayed with him and then whipped him! The next year another student was advised in very direct language to leave because "your habits of associating with young ladies are not such as will sustain the character of this Institution." In the early forties two college sophomores who visited a young lady lying ill in her room were summarily dismissed despite their high scholastic standing and excellent general reputation.

The only society (besides the church) to which both men and women students were admitted was the Oberlin Musical Association. This fact plus the leadership of Professor George Allen may account for its success. It was a choral society whose

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object was declared to be "to advance its members theoretically and practically in the knowledge of musical science, with special reference to correctness, facility and taste in church Psalmody." Allen, a student of Lowell Mason, the Boston hymn-writer and promoter of musical education, taught music at Oberlin for a generation and was the leader of musical activity at Oberlin for the first thirty years. All of the four college girls but Elizabeth Prall were members of the association. Friday nights they met together in the "Theological recitation room" in Tappan Hall and sang the hymns from Mason's *Boston Academy Collection of Church Music.* At commencement exercises in the big circus-like tent they furnished music between orations and, according to one report, held the audience "chained in breathless and painful suspense." Beginning with 1840 a full evening of commencement week was devoted to a concert of sacred music, which in the first year was "well received" and brought into the Association's treasury $155.00 from the pockets of the hard-working farmers, threadbare students and underpaid or unpaid professors.

Life at Oberlin was deeply dyed with piety. The day was begun with private prayers in the individual rooms. Following breakfast a brief religious service for the young ladies was held in the boarding hall. Classes were always begun with prayer—occasionally continued throughout the hour. Of course no meal began without grace. Chapel, or afternoon prayers, at five o'clock was attended by all; one of the professors read from the Bible and a hymn was sung. On Thursdays a religious lecture was added—a kind of week-day sermon. Young people's prayer meetings, generally one for each class, were held on Monday nights. The first coeds, like most students, joined the church; it was something of a disgrace not to belong. On the Sabbath all were required to attend the services, morning and afternoon, in old Colonial Hall or the tent, perhaps to hear the fiery Finney preach a "double-header" on "The Wages of Sin," "Robbing God" or "Your sin will find you out." It was then that souls were shaken, when the terrible eyes blazed and the clear, pene-

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trating voice repeated like the bells of doom the one word: "wages—Wages—WAGES." What a relief to tender minds when he fell on his knees and, sobbing gently, talked to a God who was a friend as well as a just judge. But on Sabbath nights many a girl awoke in fear from a dream of the Last Judgment. Finney saw to it that revivals were perennial; indeed from 1836 to 1842 Oberlin was almost continuously in a state of religious excitement.

The college course of a century ago was still truly classical and without "electives." All studied the same subjects. The standard curriculum included classes in Latin and Greek in every year with the first devoted mostly to the ancient languages. The faculty at Oberlin had dared to tamper a bit with the traditional content of the college course and had substituted some Hebrew, George Buchanan's *Psalms* in Latin, Hugo Grotius' *De Veritate Religionis Christianae* and the New Testament in the original Greek for the "heathen" and "immoral" classics like Homer and Horace. An equally startling innovation was the teaching of English poetry (Milton and Cowper). Nothing, said the critics, could ever be made of such a course; it was silly to teach Milton to students so advanced as those in the junior year of college! Even at Oberlin, however, the first college girls must study in their freshman year: Cicero *De Amicitia*, *De Senectute* and the *Tusculan Questions*, four books of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, Grotius' *De Veritate* and the *Acts of the Apostles* in the original Greek. In the second year they must master, line by line, Cicero's *De Officiis*, Tacitus' *Germania* and *Agricola*, Eschines' and Demosthenes' *On the Crown*, Xenophon's *Memorabilia* and Buchanan's *Psalms*. Latin was continued in the third year and Greek throughout the whole four years. Hebrew (grammar and the Old Testament) was also studied in the junior and senior years. Indeed the young ladies must have found a great relief in Cowper and Milton and Alexander F. Tytler's *Elements of General History, Ancient and Modern*. But after 1839 the American Education Society discontinued aid to Oberlin students, giving as their reason the

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small amount of Greek and Latin required in the college course! Mathematics was taught in the first two years and the four young ladies studied the standard mathematics texts—the *Algebra* by Professor Day of Yale, the *Geometry* adapted from the French by Professor Charles Davies of West Point and Bridges' *Conic Sections*. Mathematics, of course, was good "mental discipline." The most popular science course and perhaps the most popular course in college was Anatomy and Physiology taught in the first and third years by Dr. James Dascomb. One student wrote to his parents: "We have lectures dayly on Physiology & Anatomy from Proff. Dascomb. An extremely interesting study, but no less interesting than important. But alas! its importance is not realized by the great mass of men. How many live from 10, 20, 50, 70 years & know nothing at all about the house they inhabit! How many diseases might be prevented if men only understood this science. Proff. Dascomb estimates them at 9/10 —truly appalling." Sometimes the "females" were excused from particular lectures in this course, as once when a corpse was exhibited "in a state of perfect preservation."

The junior year was the science year. In 1839-1840 the first coeds were expected to study physics (Olmsted's *Natural Philosophy*), astronomy (Herschel) and chemistry in addition to physiology and anatomy and certain non-scientific subjects. Geology was left over to the fourth year. The equipment for science teaching was inadequate, so inadequate that the physics lectures seem to have been omitted that year because of the lack of apparatus. In the winter of 1836-1837 Dr. Dascomb had gone to New Haven and New York where he heard lectures by Professor Benjamin Silliman, the "Father of College Chemistry Teaching," and secured some chemical supplies and also plans for a laboratory building. Since there was not enough apparatus to make student experiments possible text book recitations and demonstration lectures were used exclusively. "I have just come home from Chemistry," a young lady wrote a few years later. "We have had some beautiful experiments and a very interesting lecture." In 1840 friends in England gave

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Oberlin a telescope which made it possible for students to examine the stars of lesser magnitude. The lady principal, however, was a bit hesitant about allowing the lady students to stay up after hours to look at the heavenly bodies. A cabinet of specimens of ores and rocks helped to make geology somewhat realistic but the course in this subject was largely devoted to a reconciliation of geological history and Genesis and perhaps should be classified with theological apologetics.

Of course the student's moral and religious life was not neglected in the Oberlin curriculum. Attendance at weekly Bible classes was required in all four years. The big guns against immorality, materialism, deism and atheism were William Paley's *Evidences of Christianity*, Bishop Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed* and a course described in the catalog as "Wayland's Moral Philosophy with Lectures." Some preparation for these studies was given in an examination of such "psychology" or "mental philosophy" as was current at that time, largely through the reading of Alexander Stewart's *Elements of Intellectual Philosophy*, Victor Cousin's *Psychology* and Whately's *Logic*. Twentieth-century college students who examine these pithy books will gain a new respect for the courage and persistance of their predecessors. *The Analogy* has been rightly called "a compact of profound thought." In Oberlin, as was almost universally the custom, the President lectured to the students on "moral and mental philosophy" in the senior year to prepare them for the world of temptations in which they were about to be turned loose. Under Mental Philosophy President Mahan dealt with "Sense," "Association," "Imagination and Fancy," and also "The Soul," "God," "Love" and "Ideas of Right and Wrong." The lectures on Moral Philosophy included such subjects as "Moral Obligation," "Integrity of Character," "Government," "Duties arising as members of Civil Society" and "Temperance and Dress." There was no timidity in the presentation of the practical moral issues of the day. Mahan described slavery as "the perfection of tyranny"; he taught the Higher Law ten years before the Fugitive Slave Act was passed.

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In these lectures Oberlin students found the chief link between the curriculum and the "real world" of reform societies and fugitive slaves. "The individual," the President told them, "that will stop his ear at the cry of the needy and perishing and lay out the Lord's treasures . . . for the gratification of vanity . . . will, in the great day of final reckoning, be regarded as a robber."

There were no regular courses in social science at the time in Oberlin. An effort made in 1835 to get James G. Birney to give lectures in that field had failed. A special and rather unsuccessful course of "Lectures on Law" was presented in 1838-1839 by a Cleveland attorney but since this was a junior course and the coeds were sophomores at the time they probably did not attend. No modern foreign language was taught in any department of the Institute until 1850 though there were private classes in French at a much earlier date.

Students in all departments were expected to attend classes in English composition once a week throughout their course. Composition classes were not coeducational. The young men had their classes in which they read essays, debated and practiced oratory. The young lady students had separate classes in which they modestly read their compositions before a strictly feminine audience. In the spring of 1839 at the suggestion of President Mahan the faculty determined to combine these classes and thus require young ladies (awful thought!) to read essays before young men students. Several, it was reported, "went to their rooms and *wept* at the dire necessity they supposed to be laid upon them." Twenty-three petitioned the faculty against this shocking innovation. The Lady Principal stated to the faculty that "from modesty or delicacy the young ladies felt reluctant" to read compositions before the young men. The resolution was revoked.

College study, except in English, was pretty much limited to text book reading and reciting and listening to lectures. There was a college library of approximately 800 volumes in 1836. Purchases in 1837 and gifts from English friends in 1839 and

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1840 brought the number of volumes up to about 3700 by 1840. Students, the young ladies as well as the young men, could use these books if they wanted to but they were not encouraged. It was too hard on the books. Perhaps it was feared that they might learn something that their professors didn't know or might read something immoral or irreligious. In 1838 Dr. Dascomb, who was also the librarian, was authorized to withhold books from student circulation at his discretion. The library was usually open for only a short time each day. Miss Prall drew out several volumes. She borrowed and may have read a volume of the *Library of Entire Knowledge*, Milman's Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, Irving's *Sketch Book*, and "Calvin and the Swiss Reformation." She kept the pious *Memoirs of the Late Mrs. Susan Huntington, of Boston, Mass.* so long that she had to pay a fine. She also signed up for "Zimmerman on Solitude," *The Life of Reginald Heber, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta, by His Widow*, and Spurzheim's *View of the Elementary Principles of Education*, a phrenological approach and one of the most popular books at Oberlin. There is a passage in the original library copy of Spurzheim's book which is marked in pencil: "Let the girls cultivate their intellect by practical knowledge. Let them aim at solidity as well as polite and refined manners. . . ." Did Elizabeth Prall mark it?

Examinations were oral and public; those which took place just before Commencement were often attended by numerous guests. The Board of Trustees adjourned a meeting to be present at Mahan's examination in moral philosophy in 1840. Each teacher quizzed his own classes, either "springing" questions on the youngsters or passing out cards with questions written on them. The students were then supposed to stand up before their classmates, faculty members, trustees, visiting ministers, papas and mammas and little brothers and make accurate and succinct answers. It was often, undoubtedly, somewhat trying but the instructor must have been as anxious as his charges that they should make a good appearance. A number of visiting clergymen who were present at the final examinations in 1841

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signed a commendatory statement. They declared solemnly that they found nothing in the answers of the students which "ought seriously to alarm the Christian public." They took pleasure in saying "that the performances of the young men and young women have been of a highly meritorious character" and exhibited "a spirit of true and elevated morality and piety." One of them added, on his own behalf, that the "females" were "generally not a whit behind their more hardy class-mates." The Oberlin faculty had conscientious scruples against giving grades, ranks, special honors or prizes to students and so they were merely passed or failed. The three coeds passed. At a faculty meeting held on Monday, August 23, "Miss Mary Hosford, Miss Elizabeth S. Prall and Miss Caroline Rudd were recommended to the Board of Trustees as suitable candidates for the first degree of the Arts."

On Wednesday, August 25, 1841 the college commencement exercises took place. The exercises were held on Tappan Square in the big tent which had been given to Mr. Finney by friends in New York City. "I shall not easily forget," expatiated a lady visitor, "the emotions that filled my mind, as . . . I caught a view of the majestic tent, stretching its whitened canvas to the breeze beneath the glowing canopy of heaven, like a hilloc of snow on an islet of green. From the top staff its banner of blue, on which was inscribed, 'Holiness to the Lord,' . . and the serenity of surrounding nature, combined to render it one of the most interesting objects on which I had ever looked." The graduation exercises were held in the afternoon, each candidate for a degree presenting an oration or essay. Music furnished an opportunity for relaxation between numbers and it was understood that those who attended could come and go as they liked. The tent was crowded full. The eleven seniors sat on the platform. One young man spoke on the "Political Economy of Slavery," another discussed "The Existence of God" and a third took "Reason" as his subject. The essays of the three young ladies were read for them by the Reverend John Morgan, professor of the literature of the New Testa-

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ment and a classmate of Mark Hopkins at Williams. Caroline Rudd's essay was entitled "True Heroism," Elizabeth Prall's was called "Chain of Existences," and Mary Hosford's was "A Lady's Apology." It is unfortunate that these historic compositions do not survive. The "sheepskins" distributed were in the usual Latin form, the gender of those presented to the lady graduates having been carefully corrected: "*artium liberalium Baccalaure* AM."

Two days later Professor Finney officiated at the marriage of Elizabeth Prall, *A.B.*, to the Reverend William P. Russell; Caroline Mary Rudd, *A.B.*, married Professor George Allen in October; the marriage of Mary Hosford, *A.B.*, to Caleb Fisher, her classmate, was delayed until after he had completed his theological course.

These young ladies seem to have been quite conscious of their historic role. Miss Hosford wrote a significant letter to Miss Kellogg in June of 1841, a few months before graduation. She recalled the difficulties and opposition which they had faced together in the first year of their venture, but added: "Most of the faculty are now in favor of [women taking] the college course, and Mrs. Cowles is advising all those young ladies who have strength and means to take a thorough course! Sometimes I feel like weeping tears of joy over those dear young ladies who are now making their way through the same path that we have trod, peaceful and unmolested."

The clumsy stagecoaches rolled out through the forest roads bearing away graduates and commencement guests. Returning they brought new students of both sexes to join those who remained—in conjugating verbs, in debating, "orating" and reading essays, in prayer and exhortation, in milking cows, washing dishes and remolding society. The autumn rains came and dissolved the August dust into unfathomable mud. Three other "dear young ladies" were enrolled as college juniors.

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Deutsch-mann über Alles

FRIEDA WUNDERLICH

IT IS not interesting to speak about women in Germany today. The world learned shortly after the revolution of 1933 that the Third Reich would be built up by men alone, that women would have to withdraw from public life and from all positions of influence. Those women who were protected by early party membership have still to disappear, but on the whole men made good their claim thoroughly and quickly. Women soon reached "the all-time low"—a low followed by the characteristic period of stagnation that lasts indefinitely.

One might think it not worth while to discuss the position of women in Germany, but the blow dealt to the woman's movement generally is so dangerous to women in other countries, it threatens what has been accomplished throughout the world to such an extent that it becomes essential to reach complete clearness concerning the new situation in which the German woman finds herself. And since harmless tourists continue to be hoodwinked, enlightenment is the more necessary. The matter should not be shelved with the explanation that the change was due to German mentality.

The demand for equal rights, to be sure, was not deeply rooted in the masses of German women before the War. They were for the most part too heavily burdened with household cares to participate in their own emancipation. During the War, however, when women were confronted with unwonted responsibilities, when they had to take the places of the men who were absent, women of all strata began to realize what the woman's movement had done for them and how much still remained to be done. Even before the War the woman's movement had waged a long, hard and finally successful battle to break down the artificial barriers between the education and occupations of men and women. When occupational statistics (1907) showed that only

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about one-half of all the work carried by women was done in the home, the other half in the labor market, the woman's movement succeeded in getting commensurate educational opportunities for girls. New vocations were opened to them. Traditionally they had worked on farms; now industrial work, bookkeeping, selling, and typing, into which they had streamed with the progressive industrialization of the country, were added. As compared with the United States progress was slow—not before the beginning of the century were women admitted as regular students to universities and not till 1908 did the last stronghold, Prussia, give way. But a few years later women began to join the academic professions as dentists, physicians and teachers.

Whereas the American woman's movement was from the beginning political, in Germany political hopes seemed to be utopian. The two philosophies, moreover, were different insofar as American women emphasized equality with men whereas the goal of the German feminist had always been fulfilment in woman's peculiar realm. German women strove to develop those attributes especially characteristic of women, in order to use them in the fields of the family, education and work.

The revolution of 1918 broke the German woman's last chains. It gave her the vote. The Weimar constitution prescribed identical civil rights and duties for men and women. Barriers, which it would apparently take centuries to destroy, suddenly disappeared. Careers were opened to women in the practice of law, they entered federal and state ministries, became principals of high schools, professors in universities and members of parliament.

The greatest progress was made in politics. Although the climax, enfranchisement, came quite unexpectedly and found German women unprepared, their voting record was excellent—a percentage of voters higher than among men. Their political influence they exercised in two ways—within the party, shaping both its political views and the selection of candidates, and outside the party through their work as members of parliament

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in Reich, states and communities. Influence within the party was gained more easily than in this country because the parties were smaller and because women stepped in during a revolution that overthrew many old party structures and initiated new alignments. Proportional representation, moreover, afforded a chance to send a large number of women to parliament (in 1933 there were 41 women in the Reichstag, not quite 7 per cent of all the deputies; the percentage in municipal bodies was 10 as compared with 1.1 in the House of Representatives in the United States and 2.1 in the British House of Commons). Although women won legislative victories in the fields of child welfare, education, public health etc., the most vital result of their political activity was a general change in the approach to all problems. Their human interest, their knowledge of life, contributed to politics in a fundamental way. The ballot meant a broadened outlook to thousands of women. It enlarged their interests and developed various abilities valuable to the whole community.

Old sentiments and prejudices did not disappear completely, of course. Married women had to carry the household burden without the aid of husbands or sons, who looked upon the domestic work traditionally belonging to women as inferior and degrading to men. The German man was less willing to be a comrade than the American. But it was expected that these old-fashioned attitudes would die out because the youth movement was filled with the new ideals of the equality of men and women and of woman's rights to a life of her own.

It was a short dream. Resentment against equal rights for women reappeared in the last depression. With the scarcity of jobs the married woman's right to work was challenged and an opposition toward the work done by women, as such, and directed against the new achievements, developed.

A glance at the structure of women's gainful employment shows the changes that may be brought about by such a feeling. According to the latest occupational statistics, taken from the census of 1933, a country with half the population of the

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United States numbered 11½ million working women or 35 per cent of the whole female population,[1] as compared with 10 million or 17.8 per cent in the United States. The figure, which includes two million peasant wives, was so very large because the annihilation of fortunes resulting from war and inflation compelled women to look for gainful employment in great numbers. And economic pressure forced them into the more proletarian forms of work. Women were occupied in the following fields:

Agriculture	4,650,000
Industry	2,758,000
Trade and commerce	1,920,000
Domestic service	1,250,000
All other services	904,000

Since women were considered indispensable in the first four fields only the last group was exposed to attack. Included in it were many positions, too, in which displacement was out of the question. The work of nurses, midwives, social workers, household teachers, governesses and artists could not be preempted by men. The attack, therefore, affected mostly the civil service and the professions. A comparison of the figures for Germany and the United States[2] shows that women had made only a start in these fields.

	Germany 1925	United States 1930
Women physicians	2,500	8,300
Dentists	835	1,287
Teachers	96,600	880,400
Musicians	13,000	79,000

The attack against women's work increased with mounting election returns for National Socialists who proclaimed man's exclusive right to the professions and to public life and revived the old idea of man's dominance and woman's inferiority. The National Socialist revolution of 1933 was the turning point.

[1] *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 1934. No. 7 and No. 14.
[2] Figures of the last census, that of 1933, are not yet published.

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The situation of women in Germany today is the outcome of National Socialist philosophy, one aspect of the complete reversal of values which National Socialism has brought about. The philosophy that reshapes Germany today is a religion of war. It considers war as a biological necessity for the preservation of the race and as the highest end of life. German youth must live to die for the fatherland[3]—an heroic conception of life that degrades woman to an inferior position. Her function in war will be to replace man at home when he is needed at the front, to do the nursing and to share some auxiliary war activities such as news service and air protection. Woman's activities in times of peace therefore have to be limited by man's claim to leadership. Her chief if not her only task is to bear those strong men the fatherland needs for its wars. "While man makes his supreme sacrifice on the field of battle, woman fights her supreme battle for her nation when she gives life to a child" says Hitler.[4] Thus she becomes an important factor in the second aim of the German nation—in the increase, maintenance and improvement of the race, of that noble Northern race which will ultimately conquer the world and to which the world owes its culture. She bears the child "who is called upon to continue the noble line of ancestors of German blood."[5] Marriage and a large number of children are the seal of success. "The Third Reich regards a childless woman, whether married or unmarried, as not a full member of the community."[6] "For the Nordic race the girl of free blood is only the vessel in which sex can be purely propagated."[7]

The education of girls must therefore be directed toward healthy motherhood. Physical training is consequently first in importance. To this end a special type of secondary school,

[3] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Munic 1930, pp. 265, 715, 766.

[4] In an address in Nuremberg in September 1934. He continued, "The conception of woman's equality is a product of decadent Jewish intellectualism."

[5] Reichsminister Dr. Frick, Radio Address on Mothers' Day, May 13, 1934. Quoted from *Voelkischer Beobachter*.

[6] Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythus des Zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, Munic 1932, p. 584.

[7] Walter Darré, Minister of Agriculture, *Neuadel aus Blut und Boden*. Munic 1934.

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which is gradually to supersede other types, has been created.[8] All girls' schools provide courses in raciology, especially race heredity, race hygiene and sterilization, cooking, sports and protection from air raids. As in the boys' schools, all teaching must be impregnated with National Socialist ideas—glorification of the state and of war, loyalty to Hitler, acceptance of racial superiority, the necessity of sacrifice for the folk community. In the "Hitler Youth," which occupies leisure time, girls are trained in sports and in National Socialist political ideas. They are to spend one-third of their time in political, two-thirds in physical education.[9] In the voluntary housekeeping year the adolescent girls are supposed to be employed as helpers to housewives in selected families.[10] The city girl who has completed the elementary school spends one year, the so-called "country year," in a country camp to get acquainted with the farmer's life and farmer's work and to receive physical and political education as well as training in household work.[11]

Labor service, under similar conditions, is compulsory but has not as yet been completely carried out.[12] The number of girls in camps amounts to 10,000 as against the 200,000 in the boys' camps, though the number is supposedly to be raised to 25,000 in 1938. In the camp, which is usually made up of about 40 students, the girl works 7 hours in the fields, in the homes of farmers, in a household or in a kindergarten. The rest of the day is dedicated to National Socialist questions, folk songs, folk dances and games. The girl is not allowed to engage in individual activities. "The community shall not be endangered through uncontrolled individual action."[13] Those who intend to study in the universities are compelled to perform their labor service first.

[8] *Vorlaufige Richtlinien für die 3 jahrigen Frauenschulen.* Decrees of the Minister of Education of May 23, 1935; July 8, 1935.
[9] Baldur von Schirach, *Die Hitlerjugend, Idee und Gestalt,* Berlin 1934, p. 99.
[10] Decree of the Prussian Minister of Education of September 17, 1934.
[11] Decree of the Prussian Minister of Education of March 29, 1934 and July 13, 1935.
[12] Law of June 26, 1935.
[13] Dr. Will Decker in the *Voelkischer Beobachter.*

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Though the girl is as yet not barred from institutions of higher learning, intellectual training has been discouraged. The leader of the Berlin University Students' League said "The institutions of higher learning belong to men." "We offer women the privileges of guests."[14] Study "for the sake of mere culture must at present cease entirely in order that the principal aim, education of the woman to be a mother, may be clearly discernible in the higher institutions of learning."

The ideal life of a healthy girl would be to pass from school to country camp, to household year, and to labor camp, and finally to marry at an early age. A variety of measures try to make propagation a means for improving the physical qualities of the race. Perhaps the best single key to the position of women in Germany today is the group of laws having to do with marriage and propagation.

Through the Sterilization Law, which entitles the Hereditary Health Courts to compel those who are tainted with an hereditary disease to become sterilized, defectives are to be prevented from reproducing their kind.[15] Others who do not fully satisfy all physical requirements are prevented from marrying. According to the Law for the Protection of Hereditary Health all persons intending to marry must present a certificate of matrimonial fitness.[16] Marriage or free sexual intercourse, including the most innocent form of petting between "Aryan" and "Non-Aryan" persons, the latter being those who happen to have one Jewish-born grandparent, constitutes the criminal offense of racial disgrace. Innumerable charges are daily brought before the courts. According to Mr. Streicher's racial doctrines, developed in numerous articles in the journal, *People's Health*, a single sexual contact between a non-Aryan and an Aryan corrupts the latter's blood forever. An Aryan woman who has had intercourse with a Jew, even if married later to an Aryan, can never bear pure Aryan children. Through a mixture of races

[14] Otto Schuster in *Wissen und Dienst*, November 1, 1933.
[15] Decree of July 14, 1933.
[16] Decree of October 18, 1935.

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the Aryan party acquires alien blood and soul. To avoid this tremendous danger for the Northern race the employment of Aryan maids in households that include non-Aryan men has been prohibited.[17] On the basis of logical reasoning from these ideas, local regulations have excluded cows bought by Jewish traders, or cows that have been kept in the stable with such cattle, from intercourse with the bull owned by the rural community.[18] Healthy Aryans are encouraged to raise large families, and on condition that the woman does not continue in any gainful employment government loans are given to marrying couples.[19] Although these loans have to be repaid, every child born within a certain period reduces the amount by 25 per cent until the fourth child cancels it entirely. Taxes on bachelors and the financial premiums paid for children by some municipalities have been hit upon as other means to encourage marriage and propagation. Large families get special preference in jobs. An unmarried person under 25 can be forced to give up his position in favor of a married man.[20] Large families receive preferential treatment in housing, in railroad fares etc. Mothers' schools provide classes in infant care, social hygiene, child training and instruction for expectant mothers. The official newspaper of the National Socialist German Physicians' League recently recommended the establishment of public matrimonial agencies to mate persons who seem fit to

[17] Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor of September 15, 1935.

[18] A series of such decrees has been published in the local press. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* of December 12, 1936 reports on local decrees in Hesse. The following is an example published in the *Tegernseer Zeitung*, Tergernsee, Bavaria, October 3, 1935. Public notice: "Town of Koenigsdorf. For regulating maintenance of the community bull and for preventing danger of epidemic, it is decreed:

1. Cows and oxen directly or indirectly purchased from Jews are excluded from intercourse with the community bull.
2. Cows and oxen that have been stabled with cattle purchased from Jews must be placed under observation for one year. During this period they are excluded from intercourse with the community bull.
3. This decree goes into effect, beginning October 1, 1935."

Koenigsdorf, September 28, 1935.
The mayor of the town of Koenigsdorf.
Signed Ernst Schreyer, head mayor.

[19] Decree of June, 1933.

[20] Decree of August 28, 1934.

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transmit good health to their children. In reading the literature on marriage one is reminded of the breeding of pedigreed livestock. Very few of the suggestions of National Socialist leaders have been carried out, however, because of an insuperable even if unspoken resistance on the part of women—Darré's plan to divide women into four classes according to their bodily qualifications, for example, has never been put into operation. Darré proposed mating the first unrestrictedly; the second after a period of probation, with pure Nordics; the third with inferior sterilized men; while the fourth would be prohibited from marrying at all.[21]

The glorification of woman as mother of the race does not carry with it any increase in responsibility for the education of youth. On the contrary, education in the totalitarian states is a political task. Since the young must be steeped in the new doctrine and prepared for heroic sacrifice, this phase of their education is handed over to party organizations. From the age of 10 the Hitler Youth begins to occupy the child's free time. In school and youth organizations children are imbued with the new spirit. Contempt for the divergent views of parents, lack of sympathy for the religious and social conventions of the family, and the large amount of time which the child is required to spend outside the home—all these inevitably weaken parental influence. Children are told that they, the future of Germany, are needed by the state and that they must lead themselves. The Hitler Youth is militant against the "cowardice" and "lack of vision" of the older generation. And boys learn that leadership is up to men.

There is much in the educational scheme that might profitably be incorporated in the educational systems of the democracies. Whatever the value of all these experiments, however, there is no place in them for father and mother. With the father summoned to military service and the children marching in the Hitler Youth, the mother, who can no longer find an oc-

[21] R. Walter Darré, *Neuadel aus Blut und Boden*, Munic 1934, p. 170.

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cupation outside the home to give new content to her life, may be left at home, quite lonely, if she does not join some Nazi Verein which educates her to motherhood and National Socialist philosophy. While the war and race philosophy supply the reasoned justification for the National Socialist policy toward women, there are numerous and obvious additional but unstated factors. With unemployment an acute problem in the Reich as elsewhere, any coveted positions held by women may be righteously appropriated by men. One must add to this the population policy, the largest-family prize etc., which shall make of Germany a nation entitled to a larger "place in the sun."

The call back to the home has reached women only in positions that seemed desirable for men. The government has not succeeded in restricting women to the "female" work that according to the dictates of the men among the National Socialists must be considered womanly. Such "womanly" work would be domestic service, nursing, midwifery and services as charwoman. In unpleasant, underpaid jobs, from which it would spell no hardship to return home, women have not been discharged. In factories, in low-paid office jobs, in hard agricultural toil which women would have abandoned gratefully, they still go on bearing the double burden of gainful employment and household duties. According to official statistics, published in February 1937, women's jobs have increased by more than 1,100,000 since Hitler came into power (January 1933). The fight against women's work does not concern drudgery or activities stamped as subordinate, but has been concentrated upon positions offering attractive conditions and a high social status.

The removal of women from political life has been ruthless. Wherever they held high office they have been replaced by men. They have disappeared from responsible positions in ministries, they have lost office as aldermen in municipalities, but they have continued as typists and stenographers. Their exclusion from parliaments is not to be considered a degradation because these bodies have lost their functions. The ousting of women from the teaching and other professions is primarily

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achieved by barring them from training. Universities restrict the admission of women; hospitals restrict internships providing the necessary experience for women physicians; and social health insurance funds which provide 80 per cent of all medical services, are obliged to exclude married women and to give preference to married men.[22] The teachers' colleges, in which every prospective teacher is obliged to complete the first two years, have barred women for one year. No position as principal will be granted to a woman. Only 17 began the study of law in the winter of 1935-36[23] because, according to the official commentary on the law training decree, women cannot expect employment in the legal profession and should therefore be warned against studying law.[24] No full professorship in any university is held by a woman. In the civil service they are not admitted before the age of 35 and a married woman is dismissed if her husband is also earning. Wherever women compete with men, married men and members of military organizations are given preference—in fact, regardless of fitness for the position, men are given preference. The type of work suitable for women is determined, not by free competition but by the arbitrary decision of men. In a country with a female surplus of more than 1,800,000, women are supposed to have husbands who support them.

As for the attitude of German women, nothing could be more erroneous than to characterize it with laughter of whatever description. The majority, although it is hard to admit it, acquiesce, satisfied with household cares and the bearing of children; young girls especially are enthusiastic over the promise of husbands. The rather small group of women with intellectual interests is in despair. Women who were active in bringing about the Nazi revolution published a joint appeal to Chancellor Hitler from which I quote Irmgard Reichenau.[25]

[22] Order of May 17, 1934 for the admission of physicians to the insurance funds.
[23] *Statistisches Jahrbuch fur das deutsche Reich*, 1936, p. 544.
[24] O. Palandt & H. Richter, *Die Justizausbildungsordnung des Reiches*. Official Commentary. Berlin 1934, p. 39.
[25] Deutsche Frauen on Adolf Hitler, Leipzig 1934.

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Today man is being educated not for, but against marriage. Education in Vereins, comrade homes, men's organizations, sports, strength through joy, threaten to destroy family life through separation of the sexes. Married people have less in common and have decreasing influence over their children. Woman remains farther and farther back in the shadow of loneliness.

And in another publication Marie Joachimi Dege says:[26]

Books on breeding and commissions on pedigrees cannot alone decide fitness for marriage. . . . We mothers demand that the young German shall not consider the German girl as a piece of property. Let men fight against men. Men who out of egoism fight against women are below the level of a proud, strong, and spiritually male state.

The former organizations of the woman's movement have dissolved voluntarily in order not to submit to "coordination," which has compelled all organizations to fill their boards with unknown National Socialist women and has excluded Non-Aryans from membership.

The future toward which German youth moves marching and singing and filled with hope gives little opportunity to the girl. Drudgery is her fate. She returns to her old sphere, to the family; but this old sphere has changed. The family is no longer the high social unit it was 100 years ago. Women go back to a family which has been deprived of many of its most important functions by the industrial revolution, by urbanization and by the totalitarian state. Women retain the kitchen and the biological part of motherhood; but the family in its spiritual functions is displaced by the political organization. There is resentment among adult women today and there will be resentment when young girls have grown up in their inferior positions. Some day there will be a new movement of protest against the crippling of woman's creative functions. Today, however, the trend is in the opposite direction.

[26] In *New Literature*, 1935.

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Architecture Discovers the Present

Joseph Hudnut

IT IS probable that the first buildings were created with as little directive intent as are the nests of birds. They were —to quote John Dewey—the spontaneous consequence of an organic need satisfied by external materials. Nevertheless these buildings could not have been purely functional in character. Without being aware of his activity—without a conscious power of selection, of disposition, of regulation—man yet endowed his weapons, his utensils, his shelters and the heap of stones over his dead with some hint of those qualities he is forever seeking, without finding, in the experienced world. Thus there was established at the outset the dual nature of architecture, its roots an organic necessity and a spiritual impulse.

The nature of architecture was unchanged by the advent of consciousness. When, with the intent to expand his life, man assumed the direction of the processes of building he continued to act in accordance with the structure of his own organism. Those formal values which he gave to materials, the imprint of his desire for order and completeness, were yet made conformable to a process which remained at bottom biological in character. The heap of stones became gradually the pyramid; it assumed a proportion, a crystalline definition of plane and profile, an elegance of surface, and so developed into a symbol whose significance the soul alone might apprehend; and yet it remained, as at the beginning, a heap of stones protecting and making immortal the heroic dead.

Form is a consequence of man's desire to apprehend life as a whole and to discover the principle of its organization. Form is a process by which men overcome the chaos of the experienced world with a pattern consonant with their inward aspirations. Form is an expression of faith.

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Architecture Discovers the Present

In the course of time architecture expanded its themes and the materials and the scope of form expanded also. In harmony with nature, architecture embraced in its patterns not static materials only but space made ordered and comprehensible, use, ornament and the pressures and resistances of structures; and at the same time, in contrast to nature, architecture assumed formal values whose deepening significance is spiritual, and conformed, not to biological necessities—however rationalized—but to new visions of the world, the consequence of new knowledge and deeper experience. If formal values appeared to be dependent upon practical values, that is because both were arrived at by the same processes. In the act of assembling, shaping and directing the energies and materials of nature for his expanding life, man endowed these with inward meanings.

It was in this way that the temple in Egypt developed beside the pyramid. In these dwellings built for eternity the god and not pharaoh was approachable; and the priest demanded for the divine communion a theater which became with each rebuilding more elaborate and more splendid. This need for ceremony, as well as the need of shelter for the deity, was a projection of a human need and for this the structure required functional adaptations which differed in degree but not in nature from those of buildings fashioned for human use; but beyond these functional adaptations there lay the need for some assurance of permanence and purpose in the scheme of the world. The architect of the temple comprehended that need and made it express and visible in his incomparable patterns of space and structure. If the ritual of the communion was built into stone there was also built into stone a significance which transcends ritual and creed. The ordered progression of spaces—of sculpture-lined avenues leading to majestic gates, of peristyle-embroidered courts and aisled porticos, of columned hall and dim sanctuary—could not have held a people spell-bound for 20 centuries had it not embodied a persuasive promise of that unity and completeness they had divined beneath the fragmentary appearances of the world.

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The universal is not present here as law and maxim but as a vital energy "operative in union with the soul." Nevertheless a consciousness of the religious impulse is not essential to that energy which may be free, as it appears to have been in Greece, of introspection or of conscience. He must be dull indeed who does not apprehend a spiritual harmony in the temples of Paestum, however overlaid with the mundane values of "humanism"; and even in the later temples of Greece—in the Parthenon, for example—where an esthetic interest has so largely overcome the religious interest, the true source of power remains the architect's immediate experience of some aspect of reality. Well into the Hellenistic Age such experiences continued to illume his hardening formulae with inward radiances.

That we should seek to free these meanings from the whole in which they originate and to recapture them in shapes abstracted from that whole is no doubt inevitable in a civilization accustomed to scientific analysis or philosophic deduction. The time comes in every progression of architecture when we will seek by measurement and formulae to seize the emotion we have discovered in form and to re-create this emotion by instruments of precision without reference to the experience in which it was at first contained; when we will value such emotions "for their own sake," unassociated with the time and circumstance which has occasioned them; when the totality of architecture as a phenomenon embracing both matter and spirit is overcome by an architecture of ritual.

Greek architecture, after Alexander, submitted gradually to such a transformation and the vocabulary of inherited motives, which had come between the Greek architect and the creative vision, followed Venus and Apollo to Rome and created there temples as perfunctory as the official religion to which they ministered. Under the Republic architecture existed in Rome as little more than a material of luxury, a means of bringing Rome into the circle of the Hellenic civilizations. Even Augustus seems to have valued architecture chiefly as a "visible manifestation and guarantee of the grandeur of the state." His

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ideal was that of correctness, of conformity to the civilized standard—of brick overcome by marble, of elegance added on in the name of taste.

To discover the futility of such an architecture we have only to compare these earlier Roman buildings with the majestic and true affirmations of the Roman genius under the Flavian emperors and in the "Golden Age" of Hadrian. The Colosseum, the Domus Flavian, the Pantheon were invented, not copied; and because they were molded by the attitudes and movements of a contemporary society, because they received freely the imprint of the life that flowed through them, they were accessible also to the collective spirit which finds here a deep and eloquent expression. The imperial idea, spiritual in nature, which had eluded the scholarship and piety of the architects of Augustus is the very substance of this new architecture which was as much a part of the collective life as were the religious festivals, the functions of government, the military triumphs or the communal games.

Modern architecture is essentially an effort to return to this unity of process, to arrive at expressive forms, not as elements added on to structures in the name of taste but as necessary consequences of a conscious need for order and grace in our way of life. Not because they are functional but because, being functional, their harmonies bring us an assurance of unity in the total phenomena of human life our new vocabulary of constructed form, conditioned directly upon our way of life and developed from a contemporary technology, will regain the dignity and power we discover in the great traditions of our art. That this dignity and power can be recaptured by imitation is a folly which has been demonstrated with a frequency that must be tedious even to those who profit most from it. Not one of the neo-classic buildings of our time, for example, possesses, in any convincing degree, that command over our spirit without which there can be no genuine architecture. Not the Madeleine, which is the most perfect of Roman temples, or the Berlin Museum, impeccable in its scholarship; still less the vaults of the

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Pennsylvania Station, the peristyles of the Lincoln Memorial. These are the death masks of a culture long disappeared from the earth and whose soul, for good or evil, is beyond recall.

The fallacy of the imitative process lies in the substitution of scholarship for the creative impulse or, more precisely, in the attempt to guide and to inform that impulse by inherited or codified knowledge. Not the intentions of the classic architectures but rather their outward formal elements are presented to us as abstract and eternal: the relation of these to the practical or emotional interests of the ancients appears as fortuitous as their relation to our own interests. Thus the very processes by which the valuations and standards of the antique cultures are made accessible to the architect are those calculated to effect a divorce between classic architecture and reality. Surrounded by the mystifications of a learned tradition, by the equivocal enthusiasms of archeologists and librarians, by polite usages, conventions and taste and by a science of precise and accepted standardizations this architecture exists in a world wholly withdrawn from normal experiences.

Such theologies of architecture are not without their seductions. There is an adventure in the subtleties of form unfolded, for example, in the pages of Vignola which it would be harsh to deny to our pupils; still less must we deny them an experience of the musical harmonies of the Doric peristyles, of the majestic silences under the Roman vaults. No one, I suppose, has truly apprehended these architectures who has not desired to imitate them. The paintings of David illustrate —if a more obvious illustration is needed—the consequences of imitation. The enthusiasm of David for classic precedent cannot be doubted or his knowledge of the classic proportions and techniques. With skill and impeccable scholarship he reproduced the Greek heroes on Napoleonic canvases and sought by projecting upon them contemporary sentiment, color, and drama to give them a new significance. In the same spirit—and with the same futility—Robert Bacon surrounded his Lincoln Memorial with Greek columns as accurate in delineation and

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attitude and shattered them by the intrusion of a realism that is at once sugary and harsh.

We must put aside imitation or be content to reaffirm, in monuments devoid of immediacy, revelations which because wholly at variance with the temper of our world must remain forever remote from that world. If architecture is to exist in our unstable environment we must perfect a new vision by a discriminating interest in the true qualities and meanings of our era and by a sustained encouragement to those who can translate those qualities and meanings into constructed forms.

If architecture were merely a decorative art the need of a new architecture might be less exigent. The palate of agreeable motives afforded by the historic styles might then be sufficient, especially when enlivened from time to time by stylizations and fanciful irrelevancies; and whether these motives are directly apprehended as so many shapes and colors or apprehended through the medium of history as elements of romance is a matter of little importance. It would be preposterous to expect of embroidery or of wall-paper an experience beyond that of an immediate and sensual delight or that of an emotional pleasure projected upon them by association. There have always been architects who imagine no higher excellence in architecture than decorative charm and the re-created "atmosphere" of a vanished culture. To have so steeped oneself in the Georgian culture as to be able to think and imagine in Georgian terms, to acquire by study and habit a discriminating command of the Georgian way of building, to share perhaps the vision which animated that way of building, and even to enrich it with new adaptations—this is to be an architect. The measures of success are authenticity and taste. Such standards are of course admissible but when, as in our own day, the temper of society gives them a wide currency they impose limitations upon perception and feeling which are truly disastrous. Architecture is indeed decoration. In this theater for the human drama, grace and poetic feeling, variety and splendor, surprise and wit are as congenial qualities as they are to the action, the speech and the

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costumes for which it is the background. But architecture is also expression and when the scene is unrelated to the movement which progresses on the stage it becomes shallow and tedious. The modern architect does not ask that our buildings shall be without ornament; only that it have some reference to reality.

We have only to comprehend the dissonance between historic styles and our way of life to find this dissonance intolerable. The trouble is that as a matter of fact we do not comprehend it. How else can we explain the outward aspect of a community like Bronxville (or Germantown or Wellesley) which wears so complacently an eternal masquerade of Tudor and Georgian, of French Provincial and Lombard Renaissance? It would be impossible for an intelligent man to live in such a place were he not wholly blinded to the expressive qualities of form. Because he has been taught that architecture is something embedded in history, that it is, like the old masters in the museum, precious, imported and remote, that its standards of excellence are those of skill and documentary knowledge and the imitation of masterpieces—because, in short, of that complete atrophy of the perceptive faculties towards which our education is consistently addressed this art, which might illumine his life, does not even impinge upon it.

That we should submit forever to this impoverishment is unthinkable. That we shall rediscover our environment as a medium of expression is an inevitable consequence of laws which are universal in history and which must be still operative. Since the materials of expression lie at our hand in a technique of building more responsive than any yet known and in a new quality and command of space it is scarcely credible that we shall long be content with decoration merely or that our architects shall satisfy us by rehearsing again and again the grandeur of Rome and the sublimity of Amiens. Caprice, fancy, escape from actuality are at times pleasing attributes of architecture but the time will surely come when we shall ask our architects to enliven and ennoble their art with some meanings discoverable in our own world, even though this should be achieved at

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some sacrifice of qualities more entertaining. Because the depth of their insight will exceed our own, because through training and experience they will command the technique of plan and structure, because they will desire more passionately than other men to restore the dignity and widen the usefulness of their art, our architects will find the means to affirm those meanings.

We have not understood even Georgian architecture if we think of it as a screen of ornament which may be lightly transferred, like an embroidered coat, from one wearer to another. The dignity and serenity of even that somewhat facile style finds its true source in a need for expression and in the desire and ability of architects to minister to that need. In spite of an insistence on the creed of Palladio, correctness, taste and tradition are not the secrets of this persuasive harmony but rather the apposite stamp of 18th-century thought which it bears. The Georgian mode is indeed excellent decoration and is justly popular as masquerade but it owes its life and its essential qualities to those who had some other use for architecture. So closely does it reflect the life of its time that it is quite impossible to imagine that life in another setting. No aspect of the Georgian scene seems to have been left unexpressed: its decorum and elegance, its stately artificial tempo, its conformity, clannishness and incredible faith in human reason. These are written on the faces of Georgian buildings; and at times there are written, also, the less pleasing qualities which disfigured the civilization of that epoch—its frigid complacency, "hospitable to ideas, deaf to human anguish," and that curious reliance upon academic authority which at the end of the century sanctioned the architectural death known as the *classic revival.* If Georgian architecture is shallow beside Egypt and Amiens that is perhaps because its authors were somewhat less conscious of universal values. It is, at least, a genuine architecture.

That which the Georgian architect did for his era our architects must do for our era. It will be their prescriptive task not to entertain us (if we are so easily entertained!) with skyscrapers dressed as cathedrals, with railroad tickets sold in a

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Roman bath, with Lincoln canopied by the temple of Apollo, but to show us that order and grace, purpose and dignity may indeed be discoverable in our own way of life. Not in the language of the arch and column but in our own language of steel and glass they will translate that clarity, precision and devotion to objective truth which are the positive and directing qualities of our civilization. Here will be written that thrilling sense of an evolving and continuing universe—the antithesis of classic repose and completeness; the vast new dimensions of experience; the movement and tense energy of a world triumphantly transformed by the achievements of science.

It is inevitable that such an architecture should be misunderstood. The new objectives will be interpreted as a search for novelty. Experiments in form, understood as finalities, will be parodied by those who mistake them for fashions. The new movement will not be popular in Bronxville. Nevertheless the modern architect will find his opportunities: at first in those instances where economic pressure compels the elimination of ornament and a close adaptation of means to a practical end—in factories, skyscrapers, and shops—and then in those institutional buildings, such as schools and hospitals, which are progressively invaded by the scientific spirit, impatient of humbug and sentimentality. Still more congenial will be those vast new themes which the evolution of the social order promises the future architect: the regulation of housing by the State and the controlled development, for the general welfare, of cities and of regions. Resolute to use his science not for the comfort of individuals merely but for the communal good, the modern architect, as a necessary part of those processes by which space is organized and materials assembled for his useful end, will illumine in new orderings of space and objective form that responsible and compassionate impulse which guides these heroic enterprises. Here will be mirrored for the first time the collective soul of a new and splendid age. Beauty, a spirit inaccessible to thought and skill, will enter unbidden into the heart of structures thus conceived and fashioned.

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In the Realm of Scholarship

A Library on the Negro

DOROTHY B. PORTER

A LITTLE more than seventy years ago Howard University was founded by General Oliver Otis Howard who had conceived the idea of establishing a university for freedmen and others out of his experience as Director of the Freedmen's Bureau. This earnest and farsighted man tried to anticipate and provide for the needs of every division of the young university, not least of all those of a library. Unable to do much toward meeting the total library needs, he nevertheless felt it imperative to introduce the Negro to his immediate past. He therefore gave to the University Library a few books and pictures on the Negro. This initial gift was augmented in the year 1873 when Lewis Tappan, a fervent worker in the anti-slavery cause, donated his anti-slavery collection to the University. When received it consisted of about 1650 books and pamphlets bound up into 300 thick volumes in addition to many anti-slavery periodicals, manuscripts, broadsides, letters, clippings and pictures relating to the Negro. Thereafter smaller contributions were made frequently by friends of the University, one of whom was Charles Sumner.

In 1914 the collection was greatly enlarged by the gift of the private collection of Jesse E. Moorland, a trustee of Howard University since 1907. His contribution contained over 3000 items relating to the Negro and included in addition to books and pamphlets such diversified material as engravings, portraits, manuscripts, curios, pictures and many envelopes of clippings. The acceptance of this gift by the Board of Trustees created *The Moorland Foundation, the Library of Negro Life and History*. Dr. Moorland's gift was combined with the Tappan collection, forming one of the most valuable collections of anti-slavery literature ever assembled. Yearly the collection has grown until now it is a well-organized reference library available primarily for research purposes. Its card indexes of more than 30,000 cards locate the subject matter in over 6500 books and more than 3600 pamphlets in addition to many periodicals.

Certain features in the arrange-

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ment of this material tend to make its use convenient. For example the books on slavery are closely classified into the various aspects of that subject, such as the religious, legal, economic and biographical, the views of travelers and so on. Books dealing with the race problem have been similarly classified. American fiction is arranged by period so that the scholar interested, for example, in the plantation tradition as found in the novels of the day will find in one section all the pertinent material. At present, subject emphasis is upon the American Negro, the collection being strongest in the history of the slavery movement. But available material is being added on all phases of the Negro wherever he is found and an up-to-date clipping file gives the latest information on the progress of the Negro in all fields, his history and the lives of living Negroes not available in other printed sources.

A supplementary index to periodical literature in the Moorland Foundation is now being compiled as a current project. This includes only the periodical literature not found in the regular periodical indexes. Other special indexes, including portrait and biographical indexes, are in preparation and will create short-cuts to reference material.

A notable feature of the Foundation is its set of British Blue Books giving the reports of the various Parliamentary investigations into slavery in the British Colonies and into the slave trade in general for the years 1840-1846. These and other earlier works on the slave trade provide an immense quantity of historical data that have yet to be used by scholars. Also among the treasured items are unique and rare copies of those autobiographies of slaves and free persons of color printed between 1835 and 1845, including the autobiographies of Maria Steward, thought to be the first American Negro woman lecturer, and of Jarena Lee, possibly the first Negro woman preacher.

Manuscript notes in many copies have furnished helpful bibliographical information to research workers. A small volume of twelve Anti-Slavery Tracts published by the American Anti-Slavery Society carries this note—"Most of these tracts were compiled by me. Tens of thousands were sold. It is supposed they did much good. They were called Pidgen Shot." The note is signed by Lewis Tappan. Library catalogs elsewhere have not credited Tappan with the authorship of these tracts.

One manuscript letter in the collection is addressed to the then Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, and signed by Samuel J. May, George Whipple, C. B. Sedgwick, Sherman B. Canfield and Lewis Tappan. It attests to the fine character of Jeremain

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A Library on the Negro

Loquen, a free Negro of Syracuse who in 1865 desired to visit his relatives whom he had left in bondage in Tennessee at the time of his escape from slavery. Loquen needed recognized authority to permit him to go to and from Tennessee. In addition to the above testimonial he secured on his letter the following manuscript note—"The within named Rev. J. W. Loquen (col'd) of New York is recommended to the favorable consideration of the Civil and Military Authorities of the State of Tennessee whither he goes." This statement was signed by the then President of the United States, Andrew Johnson.

A Patrick Henry autograph on a proclamation dated November 1777, asking Thompson Mason and others to act as justices in cases of Negroes accused of crime and misdemeanors, is one of the autographs of value. Autographs and contemporary reviews carried in many of the volumes correspondingly enhance their value. Gift and association copies presented by great men to Negro leaders are also included in the Foundation.

The location of this collection at Washington offers an excellent opportunity to students because of the other and rich library resources of the city. With the present effort to gather as many clippings, books, pamphlets and other items relating to the Negro as possible it is hoped that the Howard University Library will become the greatest center of research for all phases of the Negro question. This hope is partly anticipated in the construction of the new $1,105,000 library which will open next year and which will afford adequate facilities for the expansion of the Moorland Foundation.

Oxford Summer School for Women

THE Women's Colleges of Oxford University have announced a summer course for American women graduates and teachers to be held for the 4th time in Oxford in July 1938. The subject for study will be "England in the past 50 years." A number of English scholars will lecture on the literature, history, politics and thought of the period. Provisional arrangements have already been made with various men and women, including Laurence Housman, G. D. H. Cole, Lascelles Abercrombie and Harold Nicolson.

The course will open on Wednesday, July 6 and close on Wednesday, July 27. The fee, $150, will include full board, residence in the women's colleges, lectures, classes, excursions and concerts. Inquiries should be addressed to Miss Marion L. Day, 9 St. Luke's Place, New York City.

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Discussion

The Principle of Unprincipled Education

To the Editor:

"A Plea for Unprincipled Education" by Mr. Datus C. Smith, Jr., published in this year's Autumn issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, is an acute and persuasive statement which commands acceptance in "principle"—if Mr. Smith will pardon my attributing to him that which he denies to education. I find it impossible to quarrel with his general thesis but feel impelled to express misgivings in regard to some of the instances of its application. The thesis, if I may venture to summarize it, is that the business of a university is to search for truth and that this function is incompatible with the expression, in a corporate way, of judgments on moral, social, economic or political issues.

Let us start with the assumption that what Mr. Smith so boldly calls "unprincipled education" should be the ideal of any institution devoted to the search for truth. That, we may say, is its one and only dogma, but one that is imposed by voluntary definition rather than by external authority. The Nazi Government is perfectly free to set up another ideal and to accept a different dogma; but a university which has taken as its ideal the objective search for truth is entitled to invoke the first law of nature and to defend itself from anything that menaces the integrity of that ideal.

A university is an organism whose individual members are devoted to the untrammelled search for truth; and it also has its corporate function, the purpose of which is not only to provide the optimum conditions for scholarly pursuits but also to preserve the life of the organism as defined by its ideal.

Mr. Smith fails to make the distinction between a moral judgment expressed, for example, by the refusal of "tainted" money, as such, and the judgment, fallible as it may be, that the acceptance of a particular gift may carry with it implications hostile to the very principle Mr. Smith defends. He thus fails to distinguish between a refusal of FERA support, as an expression of disapproval of the New Deal, and the refusal of government support as an entering wedge toward what might,

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even legitimately, lead to some degree of government control. That the disadvantages of such control may be outweighed in certain circumstances by its advantages does not impair the validity, in other circumstances, of an institution's judgment that its purposes can be better fulfilled in complete independence of government support. If Mr. Smith can admit the propriety of such a judgment, as I think he must, I, for my part, can agree with him that refusal of government support in order to relieve a teacher from "the embarrassment of knowing that when he teaches that FERA economics are bad he is arguing against his salary" reduces the argument for rejection to a very low level.

Harvard University's refusal of the gift of a one-year scholarship from a prominent official of the Nazi party was not actuated by any fear of exposing a stipendiary to the heresies of Nazi philosophy, for at that very moment several traveling fellows of the same university were studying in Germany and others were soon to be appointed for the same purpose. There was no disposition whatsoever to limit the freedom of traveling fellows to carry on their studies to the best advantage, whether in Germany or elsewhere. In the case referred to, the Nazi official was himself a graduate of Harvard. His class was celebrating its 25th anniversary and was raising a substantial fund as a gift to the university in celebration of that event. If, like other members of his class, he had modestly sent a subscription to that fund no question could have been raised with regard to the source of the gift. But the offer was announced in Berlin as an international gesture, and with a blare of publicity, before being communicated to the University. It was thus unmistakably calculated to suggest an atmosphere of comity between the Nazi educational administration and the American University. Mr. Smith himself calls it a "fascist publicity stunt." It was the university's judgment, making no claim to infallibility, that the acceptance of the gift under these circumstances would have tended to weaken the principle for which Mr. Smith contends, the principle of "unprincipled education." I am inclined to insist, and this is the essence of my reply to Mr. Smith's article, that in cases where a given action, be it the acceptance of money or anything else, threatens the impairment of that basic principle, judgment with regard to acceptance or rejection, approval or disapproval, has to be exercised by those responsible for the corporate integrity of the institution.

Mr. Smith may be entirely correct in his description of the fluctuating emotions that may have affected the giving or withholding of an honorary degree to Count von Bernstorff at different periods of his service in Washington. The conferring of an honorary degree

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on a distinguished diplomat is doubtless affected by considerations of international good will and may sometimes run the risk of adverse political implications. A degree might properly be withheld from a man personally worthy of it if, at a given time, political inferences would be drawn by the public. If there was a general belief that the previously respected head of the German Embassy in Washington had incurred some moral responsibility for the illegal activities of his subordinates, that belief, right or wrong, might be an adequate reason for withholding a degree. After all, not giving a degree is not necessarily the same thing as refusing to give it, for no obligation rests upon a university thus to honor every person who might be nominated and no one would pretend that the absence of a man's name from a university's honor list could be taken as a personal reflection. I doubt whether any university takes its own honors as seriously as that! It would be far-fetched to impute a political color to the mere not-giving and absurd to call it a moral judgment. It might be the avoidance of such a judgment. Surely "unprincipled education" does not exclude the exercise of common-sense!

It is a pity that Mr. Smith should have damaged the otherwise admirable temper of his article by permitting himself to make so extravagant a statement as that "any scholar who had suggested in 1914 that von Bernstorff was not worthy of a degree (or in 1917 that he *was* worthy) would have been summarily dismissed." No doubt this was mere rhetorical exuberance, but it is none the less unfortunate, for it tends to impair the influence of an otherwise helpful and illuminating definition of academic integrity.

JEROME D. GREENE

Defense or the Fence

To the Editor:

Thanks for sending me the issue containing Mr. Smith's article. He has raised an important question and discussed it with vigor and consistency. Yet it does not seem to me as simple as it does to him. There are perils no doubt in exercising judgments of any kind but I do not see how one can escape the fact that moral implications accompany every act, no matter how neutral one may imagine one's self to be in performing it. I cannot see neutrality and morality as two insulated absolutes. According to the neutrality formula a university would take money from Al Capone's hidden pile. Would Mr. Smith approve that? Perhaps he would qualify his theory by adding to money the condition, "lawfully acquired." Even so, there are always border-line cases between morals yet free and morals already enacted into law.

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Again, Mr. Smith puts up another absolute when he says that "an honest interpretation" of free speech would extend it to those who would destroy free speech. I am unable to call a person dishonest who declares that he does not propose to extend liberty to those who come with fire and sword avowing the deliberate purpose of abolishing liberty. To me at least such a person has a decent if not honest conception of liberty. However the business is too complicated to be disposed of in short form.

CHARLES A. BEARD

The American Novel—1936 Models

To the Editor:

Mr. William Perry in his penetrating article on the novel of 1936, "What Do You Read, My Lord?" which appeared in the summer issue of *The American Scholar* holds a brief for considering Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* the best novel of the year. Mr. Perry displays considerable perplexity and indignation as he examines the work of Santayana, Morgan, Huxley, Dos Passos and others. Turning to the best seller of the year he insists that it is preeminent because it is "a straightforward narrative which produces its effects by those means which have been the chief tools of fiction from its inception; characters moving against a vividly drawn background; events working in significant progression towards the revelation of those characters; the thesis, if any, embodied in those events and characters."

This is an admirable definition of one type of novel, the more or less conventional form, sometimes called the "well-made" novel. But to apply this definition as a criterion of criticism would mean deprecation of the work of Sterne, Dickens, Emily Brontë, Melville and Conrad, not to speak of the experimentalists of the present day—and their name is legion. D. H. Lawrence once said that "all rules of construction hold good for novels which are copies of other novels. A book which is not a copy of other books has its own construction."

In fact one of the oldest conventions in the history of the novel is that it shall have no conventional form. From the picaresque type represented by *Don Quixote* or *Pickwick Papers*, consisting of a series of adventures whose only unity inheres in the fact that all or most of the episodes involve the central character or characters, to the tightly-knit dramatic structure of *The Return of the Native* or *The Forsyte Saga*, the ramifications of the form of the novel have been many. There have been loosely connected autobiographical novels (*David Copperfield*, for example), genealogical novels

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(*The Way of All Flesh*), novels told in an indirect fashion by an eye-witness (*Wuthering Heights*), novels showing a disregard of chronology (*Lord Jim*), novels with no apparent beginning or end (*Tristram Shandy*) and novels in which the thesis is not only, to quote Mr. Perry, "embodied in those events and characters" but freely explained by the writer (Fielding, Thackeray, Hawthorne, Melville etc.). The reader of novels has been subjected to upsetting fare in the past; and apparently he has not suffered acute indigestion.

There are definite reasons for such an outburst of experimentation as Mr. Perry finds in the output of 1936. In the first place the writer naturally tires of following a conventional form. "The men and women of our time who have written *Women in Love*, *Lord Jim*, *Ulysses*, *Pilgrimage*, *Mrs. Dalloway*, *An American Tragedy*, *Babbitt*, *Manhattan Transfer*, *Holiday*, must feel in the presence of the well-made novel as the romantic poets . . . felt in the presence of Dryden and Pope" as Joseph Warren Beach so ably states in his volume, *The Twentieth Century Novel* (1932). The creative artist will brook no critical rules. Rhythms of taste can be traced in the history of every literature—from romantic to classic, exuberant to controlled, experimental to formal.

The chaos of the modern world constitutes a new wine which can scarcely be restrained by old bottles. Just as the renaissance witnessed the break-up of the medieval synthesis, so whatever synthesis of action and belief the modern world may have achieved seems shattered today. In science, religion, politics, manners, the old order seems to be changing, and what we now think of as the comfortable era of a century ago (forgetting the Chartist and revolutionary movements in Europe, the bank crisis, the conflict of science and religion) is no more. But important as are these manifestations of change, the destruction wrought by psychology upon the conventional conception of human personality is, for modern character portrayal, by far the most important. Aldous Huxley, at once one of the most accomplished of modern novelists and a keen student of the world of contemporary thought, uses the term "psychological atomism" to describe this new concept of personality. His discussion, through the notebook of Anthony Beavis in *Eyeless in Gaza*, is illuminating at this point.

These new currents in thought and taste serve to explain many of the otherwise perplexing technical innovations of the modern novel. The complexity of the modern metropolis is appropriately rendered by the method of counterpointing scenes—a technique widely used, though often associated with the work of Dos Passos. The moving picture has stimulated

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the technique of the rapid succession of brief glimpses rather than protracted scenes. Compare the average chapter length in Galsworthy with that of one of his Victorian predecessors. Finally, "psychological atomism" is responsible for the stream-of-consciousness method of characterization; if there is no such thing as a single indivisible character it is reasonable to portray people by revealing the phases of thought and feeling that consciously or unconsciously pass through their minds. It is noteworthy that James Joyce, with the uncanny prevision which the artist so often has, both interpreted this feature of modern thought and gave it characteristic formal expression in *Ulysses*.

Mr. Perry's conclusion that "*Gone with the Wind* shows pretty clearly that the technical innovations of recent fiction are of relatively small importance" is, I believe, wholly without foundation. An argument from popularity is always dangerous in critical discussions; especially is this true in the case of a novel which has achieved a reputation of being a nine days' wonder. That popularity is relative only is apparent from the fact that *Gone with the Wind* was outvoted 350 to one in the poll taken at the American Writers Congress at the June meeting in New York. *The Big Money* received 350 of the 500 votes cast; *Gone with the Wind*, one.

Mr. Perry might more logically have concluded from the popularity of this book that the general reading public is still baffled by the technical innovations of the

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modern novel—as, indeed, it is baffled by the complexity of the modern world—and therefore prefers, at this time, a novel of the conventional type. Mr. Perry shares this view, sighing with relief that his favorite is "not a psychoanalysis of complexes . . . not a framework for philosophic discussion" and "offers no solution to the 'modern dilemma' or to any social or individual problem."

It is true that much of the work of contemporary novelists seems tentative, incomplete, even perverse. The suspicion is always raised—and, one fears, sometimes justly— that the modern novelist is trying to *épater le bourgeoisie* in form as he so often does in matter.

Though the variety of form in the modern novel seems bewildering, this variety is indicative that the novel is the type of literature having the greatest vitality as well as the greatest popularity at the present time. Richard Denis Charques, in his provocative book, *Contemporary Literature and the Social Revolution* (1933), lays emphasis on the novel as best adapted to the portrayal of modern civilization. "There are few aspects of life," he writes, "for which the elastic form of the novel cannot find room. . . . It is in the novel that the complexity of our civilization appears to find its most ample artistic expression." Few students of modern literature would agree with Mr. Perry that technical innovations are of "relatively small importance." Carl Grabo's *Technique of the Novel* (1928) states that "recent developments of fictional technique have aimed most notably to depict as closely as possible the actual flux of consciousness, the genuine stuff of experience. . . . In their utilization to more clearly perceived ends lie the possibilities of the novel's future growth as an art form and as a civilizing agency."

Perplexing as the modern novel is to the uninitiated, the sympathetic reader finds a unique zest in following the tracks of those who are at once charting new areas of human experience and contriving new instruments for the appropriate expression of the complex spirit of the modern world.

RICHARD M. KAIN

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About Our Authors

Quotation marks indicate passages taken directly from authors' letters about themselves.

WALTER M. HORTON, product of Harvard, Union Theological Seminary, the Sorbonne and the Universities of Strasbourg and Marburg, is now professor of theology at the Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin. . . . "Oddly enough (for one whose life has been passed in a very stormy and active time) I have never done anything at all except read and reflect and share my reflections." He claims to have many of the character-traits supposed to be peculiar to the clam, but fortunately for others the shell has been pried open by several publishing houses who have brought out his books, including *Theism and the Modern Mood* and *A Psychological Approach to Theology*, and several volumes written in conjunction with others—*Religious Realism* and *Contemporary American Theology*. . . . "Although I was of the class of 1917 at Harvard I did not enlist in the World War, having strong convictions against it; and although I went through Union Theological Seminary I have never joined the Socialist party. . . . The chief events in my life have all been connected with the business of study or observation. Josiah Royce gave me my life-mission years ago: "be an interpreter." In the interest of interpretation I have made one trip to India, China and Japan studying Oriental religions, and several trips to Europe, studying un-American forms of Christianity."

ALICE HAMILTON, who graduated from the Medical School of the University of Chicago, began her working life in Chicago, first teaching pathology and then carrying on research in bacteriology. "Because I lived at Hull House with Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop and Florence Kelley and the two Abbotts, Edith and Grace, I became interested in the problems of working people and especially in occupational diseases. An opportunity to study this subject came when I was given charge of a survey of poisonous trades in Illinois in 1910." Following that the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics employed her to make country-wide surveys—first of the lead trades and later, from 1916 to the signing of the Armistice, of the making and loading of high explosives. . . . From 1919 to 1935 she was assistant professor of industrial medicine at Harvard. For 6 years she was one of the American members of the Health Committee of the League of Nations and during 1930-33 a member of President Hoover's Committee on Social Trends. . . . She is now medical consultant to the Division of Labor Standards, a new unit in the Department of Labor, concerned among other things with the protection of working people from dangerous dusts and poisons.

PAUL BIXLER is now a librarian at Antioch College and vocationally happy, after a period spent as newspaper reporter and another as college instructor in English. "If I had attended a college well furnished in the social sciences I should today probably be either a psychologist or sociologist. For a number of years I tried unsuccessfully to specialize in the modern manner but I was meanwhile too conscious of what I was missing. Library work satisfies me because I can pursue so many of my interests. I rationalize my experience with the strong conviction that what we most need today are 'generalists' and humanists to give us better communication and greater understanding. The confusion of tongues so skilfully but unwittingly given us by the technicians must somehow be dispersed without catastrophe. Beyond his technical qualifications a good librarian is of value chiefly as he contributes to this improved communication and understanding. . . . My article has its roots in this idea. Who but professional men of education and school children egged on

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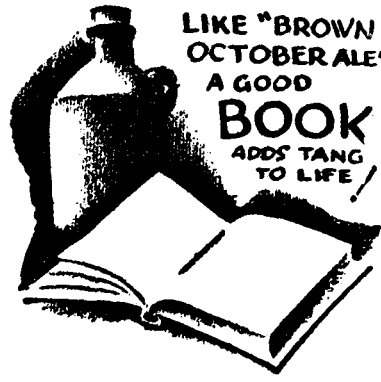
by their teachers have ever paid Horace Mann any mind? My article is a small effort at making Mann appear not merely a wooden icon in the history of education but a man worth reading about."

On the broad base of 9 years' study at the Universities of Toronto, Cornell, Harvard and several German universities JOSEPH LEIGHTON has built a life more nomadic than it sounds, varying his two permanent teaching positions at Hobart College and at Ohio State University (where he is now professor of philosophy) with visiting professorships at a number of American universities and with travels that have carried him over most of this country, most of Europe and a good deal of Canada and Mexico. A ruling interest, since his most youthful days (and as reflected in his 9th book, *Social Philosophies in Conflict*, now in press), in social and political conditions has been combined with an appetite for archeology, graphic art and literature, poetry and good music. A mountain is not only something to enjoy but to climb. . . . As chairman of the A.A.U.P. committee on the Functions of Faculties in University Government and Administration he has spoken and written on this subject copiously—and with conviction, since he is a strong believer in "the intellectual and spiritual autonomy of the teaching vocation, as a spiritual vocation and not primarily as a means of livelihood."

MAX ASCOLI, professor of political philosophy on The Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research, discussed the loyalty of peoples to dictators in the Summer 1937 *American Scholar*. He left Italy "because of a mutual lack of sympathy" between himself and the fascist régime. . . . In Italy he had written several books on political philosophy and jurisprudence. Here he began anew, "managing to express himself somehow in English," and in addition to many articles and essays wrote *Intelligence in Politics* and was co-editor of *Political and Economic Democracy*. "Obviously the story which I tell in my new article is to a large extent autobiographical. I taught in Italian universities from 1926 to 1931. I am now one of the five Italian expatriates who have been fortunate enough to find an academic position in exile. Of these five, four are in the United States. When I think that there are Americans who claim to belong to a 'lost generation' I cannot help smiling."

Who's Who sets forth STERLING LAMPRECHT as professor of philosophy at Amherst, author of *Moral and Political Philosophy*



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of John Locke and editor of the Philosophy Series of D. Appleton-Century Company. It does not say that he finds teaching college boys the pleasantest occupation in the world and one of the two or three most profitable; that his chief scholarly work has been done on Hobbes and Hume as well as Locke; or that he is grateful that he may spend his life primarily in a small college town, in touch with the intellectual currents of the modern world and yet undistracted by the noise of strife between nations or between industrial factions. . . . Though he would undoubtedly regard Hitler, Girdler and other reactionaries as part of "nature" he does not care for this particular aspect. He has not, of course, gone into the problem of good and evil in his present essay —which he likes to think of as akin to the 5th book of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, much as his own differ from many aspects of Lucretius' doctrines. . . . To an illustrious trio—Woodbridge, Whitehead and Santayana—he ascribes his major debt to contemporaries.

"The First Coeds" is fruit of one of ROBERT S. FLETCHER'S avocations—rummaging in attics for old letters and diaries. A little left of center, though descended from 9 American generations, it might be as interesting to explore his political views since "there's quite a bit in both *The New York Times* and *The Nation* that makes me mad, though I couldn't get along without either." And "I usually dial out Al Smith, Father Coughlin and Senator Vandenburg. . . . I attended Oberlin College [where he is now professor of American history] and graduated with little wisdom, but owing much of that little to the late Harold Lee King, one of Oberlin's most effective teachers. I taught high school history in the inspiring chill of Michigan's upper peninsula, did graduate work at Harvard for 3 years, and before returning to Oberlin taught at M.I.T. and Tufts and spent one year at Washington in the U. S. Department of Agriculture carrying on study and research in the field of agricultural history."

Paul Tillich refers to the human mind as being at home in exile; as constantly exploring from the known and conventional to the unknown. FRIEDA WUNDERLICH, now voluntary exile from Nazi Germany and professor of labor economics and social policy at the Graduate School of Political Sciences (University in Exile), has constantly moved away from the German woman's conventional activities. . . . "In Germany I combined several professions. In addition to lecturing I edited the weekly concerned with social policy in Germany, *Soziale Praxis*. From 1926 to 1933 I was a member of the city council in Berlin, with special responsibility for commerce, employment service and public welfare. For 3 years I was a member of the Prussian Diet and for one year judge in a Federal Supreme Court. . . . What sounds like an ordered existence was interspersed with a continuous series of revolutions beginning with the World War. To enter the war service I interrupted my studies. In this service I received my first practical training in social work, with families of soldiers. In 1918 I took my degree and in 1926 unexpectedly found myself in the political arena. From that time until the advent of the Nazi régime I was deeply involved in public life."

JOSEPH HUDNUT, Chairman of the Department of Architecture at Harvard, is more modest than is warranted. He writes: "I wish I could send you an interesting account of my life but the fact is that there is nothing interesting about it." This assumes that he can dissociate his life from his point of view, which *is* interesting. "Immediately after graduating from college I was appointed professor in the Alabama Polytechnic Institute; after a few years I was appointed professor in the University of Virginia and, later, professor in Columbia University. Now I am a professor at Harvard. If you will plot a curve through these sojournings you will have no difficulty in completing the story of my life; I shall be heard from soon as professor in the University of Northern Labrador and then as professor at the North Pole. I am sure that your readers will wish me a rapid promotion along my destined path." . . . Not unless they accompany him. He would probably make the ice and snow praise and magnify the Arctic world.

DOROTHY B. PORTER, a Negro, has been particularly interested in research on the Negro and has contributed articles and book reviews to the various journals especially concerned with Negro life. She contributed also several biographical sketches to the *Dictionary of American Biography* and compiled "A Selected List of Books by and About the Negro."

JEROME D. GREENE, "business man," for years associated with the Rockefeller Foundation, the Brookings Institution and similar organizations, has had a long and active connection with Harvard, serving as director of the Tercentenary Celebration and now as Secretary to the Corporation.

RICHARD M. KAIN is assistant professor of English at Ohio Wesleyan University.

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